Volume LXXXIX No. 9 November 29, 1968 35 cents

commonweal

WILSON CAREY McWILLIAMS
MICHAEL ROGIN
JOSEPH HILL
ARNOLD S. KAUFMAN

St. Charles Seminary Library
Carthagena Station
Celina, Ohio

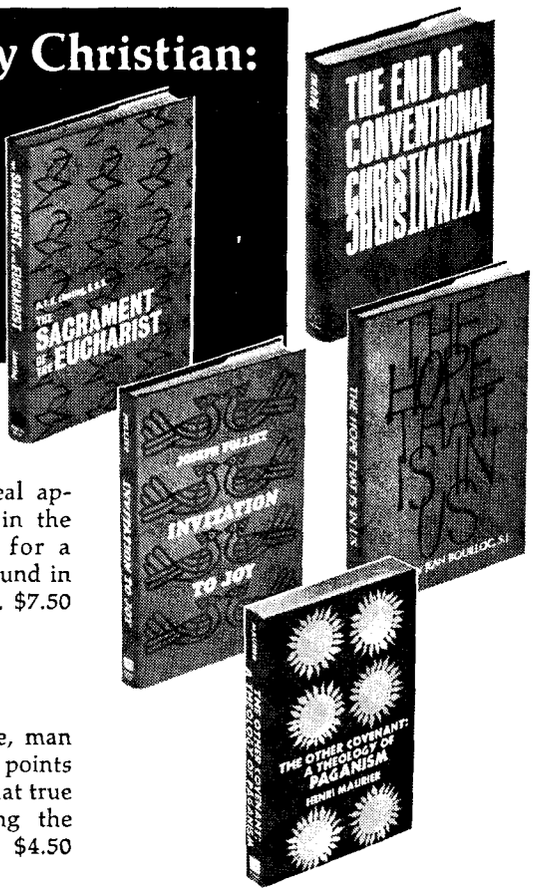
AFTER THE ELECTION

VOTING IS only the last act in an election, the final drama before the curtain falls, but it is the results of the vote which will receive most analysis and comment. Voting results are definite and accessible, "facts" in the best positivistic spirit, while campaigns are existential, having meaning only through experience. For the outsider, an election is melodrama in the sense that only the result matters, but the result does not affect the nature of a campaign.

A campaign is necessarily fragmentary and subjective. Speaking or ringing doorbells in one place, men grasp for "information" regarding locales they have not seen and results they can only guess at. Reports swirl around workers, but these are themselves tales and rumors; sources must be evaluated, and the evaluation hinges on the emotional needs and state of the evaluator himself. There is no escape from the ineffable subjectivity of the campaign; it is personal as are few other public things. *(Continued on page 307)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contemporary Christian: look first to PAULIST NEWMAN PRESS


THE SACRAMENT OF THE EUCHARIST
THE END OF CONVENTIONAL CHRISTIANITY
INVITATION TO JOY
THE HOPE THAT IS IN US
THE OTHER COVENANT: A THEOLOGY OF PAGANISM
HENRI MAURIER

THE SACRAMENT OF THE EUCHARIST
By G. T. Liesting, S.S.S.

Fr. Liesting offers a fresh, ideal approach to the vital questions in the Church's continuing search for a deeper meaning of life to be found in the sacrament of the Eucharist. $7.50

INVITATION TO JOY
By Joseph Folliet

Despite his pursuit of pleasure, man is unhappy. This timely book points the way to joy — by learning what true happiness is, and by studying the basis for Christian optimism. $4.50

THE END OF CONVENTIONAL CHRISTIANITY
By W. H. van de Pol

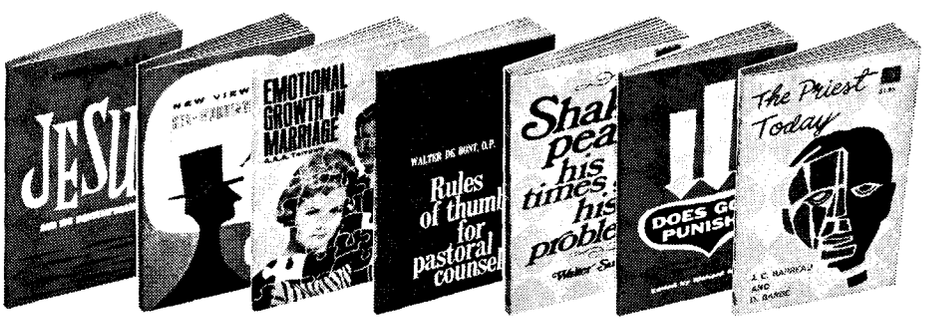
"He has brought together and related more of the significant and original material in contemporary theology than anyone else I've read recently." — Harvey Cox, author of *The Secular City*. A Thomas More Book Club selection. $7.95

THE HOPE THAT IS IN US
Edited by Jean Bouilloc, S.J.

This series of outlines for reflection that originated in a number of doctrinal courses has been edited by Father Bouilloc to serve as themes for retreats and for personal meditation. $5.95

THE OTHER COVENANT
A Theology of Paganism
By Henri Maurier

As the author unravels the meaning of paganism in the history of salvation, we find that paganism is not an enemy but a first step toward the Lord. Paper $4.95



JESUS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES
By Edmund Flood, O.S.B.

This book puts Jesus within the social and religious framework of the time and place in which he lived — thus he becomes a real person. $.95

NEW VIEWS ON SEX — MARRIAGE — LOVE
By Frederick von Gagern, M.D.

Applying the ethics of Christianity to problems confronting married persons today, the author traces the rise of sex prejudices and demonstrates that pessimism toward sexuality has essentially nothing in common with the preaching of Jesus. $1.25

RULES OF THUMB FOR PASTORAL COUNSELING
By Walter De Bont, O.P.

Twenty-four generic, practical rules of thumb are placed at the disposal of those involved in pastoral counseling, illustrated by true-life incidents and how they were handled. $1.95

DOES GOD PUNISH?
Edited by Richard McCarthy

This question — vital for a man who wants to have some understanding of God — is answered by three distinguished writers: Gregory Baum, Ladislaus Boros and Louis Evely. $.75

EMOTIONAL GROWTH IN MARRIAGE
By A. A. A. Terruwe

Written by a woman psychiatrist, this is for couples who want to achieve real emotional unity. It will help them understand each other's deepest needs. $.75

SHAKESPEARE
His Times and His Problems
By Walter Sullivan

For those who want to refresh their understanding, here is an informal, easy-to-read outline of the life Shakespeare lived and the works he produced. $.95

THE PRIEST TODAY
His Mission and Witness
By J. C. Barreau and D. Barbé

Clearly and honestly the authors question the mission of the priest today. What they say pertains directly to any priest engaged in making Jesus Christ known to his fellow man. $1.95

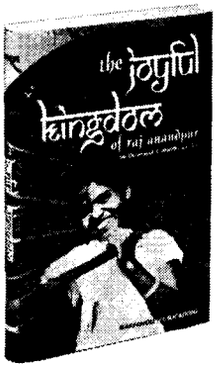
At your favorite bookstore

PAULIST/NEWMAN PRESS, 21 Harristown Road, Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perfect Gifts...
for yourself and others!

Delivered within 10 days



☐ **THE JOYFUL KINGDOM**
of Raj Anandpur
by Desmond S. Matthews, S.J.

This is a story that will appeal to Christians of all ages and all cultures.

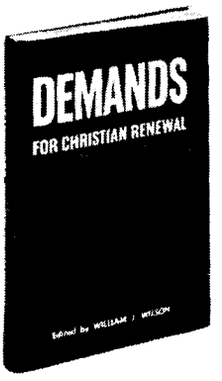
Excellently and attractively illustrated, this work is an inspiring and yet a solid contribution to missionary literature.

$3.50

☐ **TOMORROW'S PRIEST**
Edited by Raymond Izard

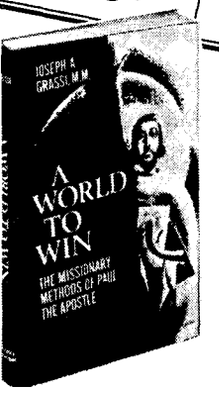
The subject of this book is an analysis of the priestly vocation in the context of the apostolic Church. The contributors include theologians, missiologists, bishops, vocation directors, and missionaries.

$5.50



☐ **DEMANDS FOR CHRISTIAN RENEWAL**
Edited by William J. Wilson

DEMANDS FOR CHRISTIAN RENEWAL is a collection of articles by well-informed members of the laity, men and women, Catholics and Protestants. The topic is Christian mission — what it is and what it should be. **$4.95**



☐ **A WORLD TO WIN**
by Joseph A. Grassi, M.M.

A WORLD TO WIN is a lively treatment of Paul the Apostle in the many roles he was cast: witness, herald, man of dialogue, team-worker and pre-evangelist.

This is no stuffy tome. **$3.95**

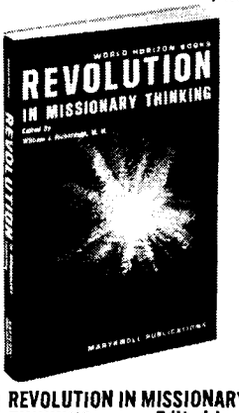
☐ **MEANING OF A MISSIONER**
by Graham P. McDonnell, M.M.

"MEANING OF A MISSIONER, by Rev. Graham P. McDonnell, M.M. is a delight both in content and in style. He has made the meaning of a missioner clear and revealing with his story and photography."—THE BOOKSHELF. **$3.95**

☐ **THE POOR CHURCH**
Edited by
William J. Richardson, M.M.

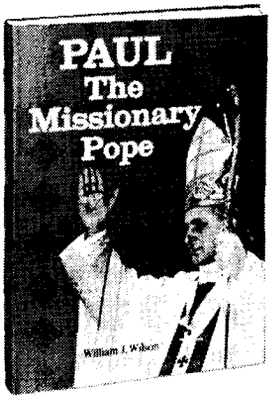
This work is not alone a vital contribution to the missionary effort; it is also indispensable if we are to have a Christian appreciation of the problem of world poverty.

$2.75



☐ **REVOLUTION IN MISSIONARY THINKING** **Edited by**
William J. Richardson, M.M.

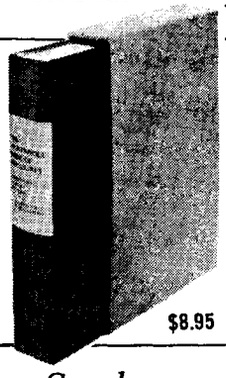
Nineteen prominent theologians, missioners, and lay specialists involved in problems of emerging nations explore revitalizing concepts of mission and their impact on missioners, the hierarchy, and *laymen.* **$2.75**



☐ **PAUL, THE MISSIONARY POPE**
by William J. Wilson

The story of his monumental efforts to promote peace and harmony among peoples is graphically told in photograph and text. The pictures are superb."—CANADIAN REGISTER

"It must stand as one of the major tributes to Pope Paul" —THE TABLET **$3.95**



Maryknoll's BOOK OF TREASURES

Edited by Albert J. Nevins, M.M.

Among contributors: Pearl Buck, Martin Buber, Dr. Tom Dooley, Graham Greene, Paul Horgan, Isak Dinesen, Alan Paton, Adlai E. Stevenson, John Bannister Tabb, Evelyn Waugh and Sister Maria del Rey.

THE MARYKNOLL BOOK OF TREASURES is ready for publication only after *years of preparation.* Its *prize-winning editor,* Father Albert J. Nevins, has combed thousands of books and publications to bring you the finest collection of mission literature in the world today.

The nearly 400 pages of this lively book are filled with enjoyable reading that ranges from the profoundly moving to the comical. Here you will find adventure and excitement, inspiration, scholarly descriptions of exotic cultures, and stories of interesting and unusual experiences among people in all parts of the world. Bound in gold cloth — handsome protective case.

$8.95

use this Ad for your handy Order Form,
(or use plain writing paper.)
send orders to:
Maryknoll Publications,
Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545

Your Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Send no money, we will bill you later. Specify how many of each book.

Maryknoll Publications
MARYKNOLL, NEW YORK 10545

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS AND VIEWS

It isn't just police thugs in Chicago, or disgruntled cops in New York with their phony cases of Hong Kong flu, who make a mockery out of law and order and clue the nation to the real meaning of the term. It's also some pillars of government.

Since 1925 a Corrupt Practices Act has been on the books for the safeguarding of election procedures. One of the principal requirements of the law is the filing of reports on campaign financing by set dates. For the past presidential campaign, one report was due Oct. 26 and another by Nov. 1.

Well, the Democrats met their deadlines. So did George Wallace's American Independent Party. The Republicans? "We'd rather be slow and accurate," said GOP treasurer J. William Middendorf.

So the first reports by major Republican committees were not made until late Monday, Nov. 4, election eve—much too late to allow the careful public scrutiny which the Corrupt Practices Act is on the books to ensure. The *Washington Post* scolded: the public has a right to "know before—not after—election day who might have tried to buy a candidate and to whom he was going to be indebted."

And it isn't that the Republicans were only a few days late. On Nov. 13, almost two weeks after the statutory deadlines, four Republican committees were just then making their financial report, and there were still others to be heard from.

The filing of financial reports is no minor matter. Millions of dollars are involved in presidential campaigns, and dollars, of course, can buy and manipulate. The Nixon people admit to having spent $20 million in their campaign, the bulk of it from contributions. Democrats say the Republicans spent more like $40 million.

Whatever the figure, the Corrupt Practices Act says an accounting must be made and by given deadlines. A treasurer who fails to meet the deadline is liable to two years in prison and a $10,000 fine if his failure is willful; $1,000 if there is some valid excuse.

But no one's to be penalized from this year's campaign. Attorney General Ramsey Clark announced that he has no plans to initiate legal action against any of the delinquent GOP officials. Mr. Clark indicated that he attached no political significance to the late and incomplete filings. Nor legal significance, either, for that matter.

Which sort of settles the campaign niceties about respect for the law and vigorous enforcement of the law. The law, obviously, is for some people and not for others.

The *Washington Post* rode the Republican delinquency hard, but its effort was a lonesome one. The *New York Times,* perhaps restrained by the flop of its Agnew conflict-of-interest campaign, handled the story gingerly, and television was discreet. The interviewers for Mr. Nixon's pre-election appearance on Meet the Press didn't raise the issue. They asked the standard questions and got the standard campaign clichés. Robert Novak (of Evans & Novak) is said to have had the finances question in mind, but if he did, he copped out on the asking.

Thus does the law and order era of Richard Nixon make its debut. It's not an auspicious one after all the Nixon rhetoric about Americans committing themselves "to the proposition that any man who disobeys the law pays the penalty the law exacts."

•

From the *Congressional Record,* an exchange between Senators J. W. Fulbright and Richard B. Russell in Senate debate Oct. 14 on Department of Defense appropriations:

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Did I understand the Senator to say that no witnesses were brought into the hearings on this matter except Administration witnesses?

Mr. RUSSELL. We had no requests whatever. We heard all the witnesses who wanted to be heard. None of the Senators who have this great technical acumen as to the missile came before the committee.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I want to ask a question. I am not criticizing.

Mr. RUSSELL. I say no, because none of them asked to come.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I thought the Senator from Kentucky had stated that.

I remember, in the joint hearings on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, there was testimony from such scientists as Kistiakowsky and York, who were considered the greatest scientists in this area. At that time, I remember, they had great doubts as to the practicability of this kind of missile.

Is it the practice of the Senator's committee never to have witnesses except those of the Administration?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, that is not our policy.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. But in this case, no witnesses except those under the Administration did testify; is that correct?

Mr. RUSSELL. We heard all the witnesses who requested to come.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I fail to make myself clear.

Mr. RUSSELL. I understand what the Senator is driving at. I did not get out and try to find some scientists opposed to this system, and subpoena them and bring them before the committee, if that is what the Senator means.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. No; I do not think scientists of this character have to be subpoenaed. I think they are just as interested in the welfare of the United States as the Administration.

Mr. RUSSELL. I did not know the names of any of them.

•

Drafters of the U.S. Bishops' statement polled their brother bishops on topic preferences. Contraception and abortion led with 194 ayes, 19 nays. Pastoral guidance on *Humanae Vitae* drew 161 ayes, 17 nays; selective conscientious objection, 142 ayes, 51 nays; conscience and the morality of specific wars, 143 ayes, 44 nays. Drawing up the rear in favor: the Vietnam war, 121 ayes, 64 nays. JOHN DEEDY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

"Political Behavioralism"

Brooklyn, N.Y.

To the Editors: Neal Wood's attack on "political behavioralism" is so great a distortion and misunderstanding of reality that it cannot be allowed to go unanswered. His most glaring error is the fact that he makes sweeping generalizations about all political behavioralists without a shred of supporting evidence. For example, he states that the political behavioralist wants to reduce all political phenomena to quantifiable data under the sway of a hegemony of numbers. But the very people he cites as exponents of behavioralism (Easton, Kaplan, Lasswell, and Deutsch) cannot be accused of this. They seldom engage in research that is quantifiable. Moreover, the verifiability principle is a tenet of logical positivism, and I doubt that most political behavioralists are logical positivists. This, of course, is an empirical question, but one which Wood does not bother to support with evidence. Similarly, he says that behavioralists think that political theorists have little to contribute to political science. I for one do not think that this is true and I would classify myself as a behavioralist. I would say that *all* theorists have something to contribute, including the theorists whose principal concern is the history of political thought, the political philosopher, and the empirical theorist.

It does Wood no good to insist upon attacking dead horses. The "value-free" dogma has been pretty well disqualified, and I doubt if "political behavioralists" still adhere to it. Most certainly, as Abraham Kaplan has pointed out, scientific method is an orthodoxy and should be treated as such. Hence, I would admit that values "mediate between my consciousness and the world of politics." But I would deny that these are the values of the status quo. The only behavioralists whose theories rest upon the "Benthamite felicific calculus" are economists turned political scientists

(Continued on page 325)

NEWS & VIEWS: 300 **CORRESPONDENCE: 301**
EDITORIALS: 301
TELLING IT LIKE IT IS, BISHOP-STYLE: *John Mulholland* **302**
BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE COMES OF AGE: *Jerry O'Connell* **304**
COP-OUT ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS: *Joe Rigert* **305**
THE SAME TWO NATIONS: *Wilson Carey McWilliams* **Front Cover**
WALLACE AS CATHARSIS: *Michael Rogin* **310**
LABOR'S LOST BET: *Joseph Hill* **313**
A FUTURE FOR DISSIDENTS: *Arnold S. Kaufman* **314**
THE SCREEN: *Philip T. Hartung* ***ETC.:*** *Annette Michelson* **318**
BOOKS: **319**

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor*
JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
PETER STEINFELS: *Associate Editor*
ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant* JONATHAN EISEN: *Editorial Assistant*
MICHAEL NOVAK: *Associate Editor (At Large)* WILFRID SHEED: *Books*
GERALD WEALES: *Drama* PHILIP T. HARTUNG: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
ROBERT BARRAT: *Paris* GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN: *Rome* J. M. CAMERON: *Great Britain*

EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher*
JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second-class postage paid in Philadelphia, Pa. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and July-September, by Commonweal Publishing Co. 232 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016 MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1968 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc. US and Canada, $10 a year. Foreign $12. Single copies 35¢.

EXTREMISM?

Elsewhere in this issue readers will find a report on the recently concluded meeting of the American Catholic bishops in Washington. We will not attempt to sum up that report here. Indeed, we do not find it easy to say exactly what we think of the bishops' pastoral. The treatment of the birth control issue was, despite misleading news stories, flatly disappointing. Much of the comment on other subjects—approval of selective conscientious objection, for example—was distressingly late, and the comments on Vietnam were too little. But we strongly support the right to selective conscientious objection, and liturgical reform, and is not too little and too late better than nothing? Individual Catholics will probably answer this question one way or the other largely on the basis of their own temperament.

One thing the bishops failed to come up with was a way of solving problems like that between Cardinal O'Boyle and his priests, and this failure seems to us a serious one. The failure is understandable, since bishops, like Senators, hate to interfere with the privileges of other members of the club; nonetheless, this omission is bound to spell trouble in the future. No matter how much bishops hate "outside interference," no one should be the sole judge in his own case, yet this is for all practical purposes the situation that now exists.

The problem in Washington has been widely publicized. But take another example, the case of San Antonio, where a group of priests were finally driven to call for the resignation of the inflexible 77-year-old Archbishop Robert E. Lucey. The Archbishop's reaction was swift and, we fear, typical. In a pastoral letter he said: "Recently in this jurisdiction the Church has been wounded publicly and damage has been done to immortal souls. This is contrary to all that we believe, to all that we hope for, to all that we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

love . . . Public hostility, dissension, controversy, should have no place among those who have been consecrated as ministers of Christ. . . . We call upon our co-workers to renew their ideals of the priesthood and strike earnestly for holiness of life without which their labors will be fruitless."

How neat it all sounds, how tempting it must be for others in authority to endorse this kind of response. Who can deny that hostility has no place among ministers of Christ? What priest would say he has no need to be reminded once again of the high ideals of the priesthood? And how comfortable for the rest of us if such unsightly conflicts are eliminated, or at least kept out of the papers. How neat, how tempting, how comfortable, and yet it must be insisted that "answers" like that of Archbishop Lucey will not do. This is a time for moderation, people say, a time to avoid extremism, and they are right. But it is not the priests of San Antonio and their lay supporters who are extreme; it is Archbishop Lucey. The priests in Washington hold a position on birth control almost identical with that held by various national hierarchies; it was not they but Cardinal O'Boyle who made a front-page showdown inevitable. It is not the seminary rectors and professors removed from their posts in various parts of the country who are extreme; it is their bishops who are degrading the role of conscience and exaggerating papal authority far beyond the bounds of reason and the limits of tradition.

In situations such as these, with what many see as the Church's "dirty linen" being washed in public, it is a positive temptation for anyone who loves the Church to counsel moderation, to talk of avoiding extremes, to urge an end to polarization inside the Church. Yet it is precisely that, a temptation, when such a course means that those with just complaints should hold their tongues. Many voices are raised to condemn priests and laymen who speak out against their bishop, but is silence really the way to show one's concern for the Church? Is it not necessary to point out the widespread abuse of episcopal power, the arbitrariness of many superiors, the absence in most cases of any forum of complaint except the public press? Few would deny that picketing and pressure tactics should not be the first resort, but they may well be the last. We too urge moderation, but we urge it first on superiors and bishops. If the Church is facing a crisis of authority, it is because authority has too often outreached itself.

These are indeed troubled times for the Church. No doubt we all share in the blame for this to some extent, but it still must be said that a major part of the blame rests squarely on the shoulders of those in authority, from the Pope on down. The present troubles in the Church are not taking place because reform is going too fast; they are happening because the pace of reform in the Church is all too slow—so slow, in fact, that some of the best people are beginning to question whether reform inside the Church is possible at all. It is this fact which too many bishops have failed to face.

The bright visions evoked by the Second Vatican Council have been dimmed; the eager hopes have been all but dashed, and not by the priests of Washington or San Antonio either. What will it take to make men like Cardinal O'Boyle accept the spirit of the Council, to make them embrace collegiality and turn it into living reality? What, for that matter, will it take to make the Pope treat his fellow-bishops in the spirit of collegiality? What will it take to achieve a real sharing of authority in the Church, from the Pope with a synod of bishops to the local pastor with the parishioners? At this point we really cannot imagine, but of one thing we are sure: there will be no end to "unseemly" confrontations, no end to incidents like those in Washington and San Antonio until reform in the Church becomes a fact instead of an unobserved catchword.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Telling It Like It Is, Bishop-Style

Statement One: "Birth control by artificial contraception is always morally wrong. People who mistakenly follow their own conscience and use such means are in serious error but will not be rejected from the Church. We bishops, who possess such profound knowledge of sexual life that we can rightly presume to instruct the world on it, completely endorse the teaching of *Humanae Vitae*."

Statement Two: "Birth control by artificial contraception is not always morally wrong. People who wish to use such means are free to follow their own conscience. We bishops, by our continued preoccupation with sexual moralizing, make clear that we are thoroughly confused about sex and declare that we have nothing intelligent to say on the subject."

Each of these statements is about 60 words long, and they are somewhat contradictory. Last week in Washington 220 Catholic bishops performed the usual Roman miracle: in 11,000 words they gave their readers adequate reason to summarize the episcopal teachings on conscience and birth control in either of the above fashions. Where they themselves stand as human beings or as bishops on the matter to which they have given such long study remains unclear; apparently they would like to stand wherever the "winner" will stand some time in the future.

Administrators who take thousands upon thousands of words to express an executive decision are obviously not too sure of themselves and would prefer that time, by its simple passage, make the decision for them. It is an old Roman custom. Their reliance on that custom

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vividly illustrates the American bishops' very tentative appreciation of themselves as teachers. They met on the matter in ultra-secret session from which laity, theologians and anyone else with a stake in their decision were, perhaps mercifully, excluded.

But if the bishops were prolix on the birth control issue, they were clear and concise on house matters. Their most decisive statement was liturgical: through Archbishop Leo Byrne they announced without equivocation that Rome has approved for use in the United States eight new prefaces and three new canons.

Dissent and Dissident Priests

Surrounding the bishops' meeting was the clamor of 54 priests from the Washington Archdiocese, 40 of them suspended by Cardinal O'Boyle for opposing the encyclical. During the marathon meeting they demonstrated in the lobby of the Washington-Hilton for due process in controversies between bishop and priest. As on the birth control issue, the bishops built another fence to straddle. At week's end, both parties could legitimately claim victory from the words and actions of the hierarchy. Father John Corrigan, leader of the D.C. dissenters, by selective reading of the document, could claim that the bishops in solemn conclave had reaffirmed the right to dissent on non-infallible teaching. But an official spokesman for Cardinal O'Boyle could say several hours later that the stand taken by the bishops was the same taken by the Cardinal. Roman-style, Cardinal Krol successfully persuaded his brother bishops to take leisurely and ineffective action: they invited members of the Church to send in suggestions on what might be done in future similar cases.

What the bishops did not say on war and peace is more significant than what they did say. They did not condemn indiscriminate warfare. They failed to differ in any substantial way from the official position of the U.S. government that this nation now fully intends to use the nuclear 'deterrent' to destroy the whole planet, if pressed. Leaders of the peace movement in Washington on Friday afternoon literally wept for the inadequacy of the hierarchy. There was little leadership in any of the stands taken by the bishops. Each statement, on dissent, on war, on the test-ban treaty, on conscience, on birth control, came after other major religious bodies had spoken more strongly on the same issues.

Their performance proves again that the American bishops are allergic to leadership and more concerned with their own 'in house' problems, the trivia of reform. They are incapable of approaching the problems of the real world. They could not say a word about the population problem of the planet, only vent pedantic difficulty with the legalistic categories of nineteenth-century moral theology. They could not bring themselves to deal with the problems of war and peace on a planet where three and a quarter billion lives hang by the thread of the nuclear deterrent. But they could set up a million- dollar institute to study the 'rhythm' method of birth limitation with O'Boyle as chairman (why him?). It's like the Studebaker Company putting the rest of their capital into an all-out study of the horse and buggy. One significant decision by the bishops was still unreported on Monday morning: after all these years they will air-condition the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in the nation's capital. Maybe that will help with the fresh air problem.

In the days after Bishop Wright delivered his *Parvulus Mus* to the public, it was hailed by sections of the press as a liberating statement. Saturday's *Washington Post* front-page headlined: Catholic Bishops Ease Restriction on Birth Control. Joining Bill MacKaye of the *Post* were Edward Fiske of the *New York Times* and the *Baltimore Sun's* Weldon Wallace. They thought that the purpose of the statement, in however guarded terms, was to free the enslaved and burdened consciences of American Catholics while saving face with Rome. MacKaye and Company have happily irritated Cardinals O'Boyle, Krol et al. with this too charitable interpretation of the subjective (mark that word) intent of the bishops. But they are in error, at least objectively (another important word). The bishops had no intent to free anyone's conscience, subjectively or objectively. Others, among them Bishop Wright, were certain that the purpose was to endorse *Humanae Vitae* word for literal word. Questioned by newsmen whose eyes quickly found in the 11,000 words the single five-word phrase that might be liberating ("Circumstances may reduce moral guilt") Wright said: "I cannot conceive of circumstances under which a person could use artificial contraception and not think of himself as committing a grave sin." His comment made clear that the bishops never intended to deal with real issues at all, merely with abstractions. Wright and others who pretend that the purpose was to reendorse *Humanae Vitae* are, however, just as much in error (this time objectively) as MacKaye and his fellow newsmen. The bishops never intended by the statement to endorse anything.

Then what did they intend (subjectively and/or objectively)? This observer is convinced that they proposed to do precisely what they in fact succeeded in doing: they intended simply to get away from the Washington-Hilton and out of town without being pinned down. By saying as much as possible as confusingly as possible, they succeeded in their intent. No one should be surprised about their goal. Getting out of town has been the name of the game for over 20 years when it comes to the annual statement of the American bishops.

JOHN MULHOLLAND

(John Mulholland, a free-lance writer living in Washington, contributed to American Catholic Exodus [*Corpus Books*])

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bonnie Prince Charlie Comes of Age

Pity the lot of Britain's Prince Charles, coming of age as heir to the throne in the present Celtic madness. There is growing nationalist sentiment in Wales and Scotland for independence from Great Britain; rumblings of nationalism are heard in Northern Ireland; even the centuries-old distrust of the people of Cornwall for the rest of England is re-emerging with talk of a nationalist party forming there.

The impending investiture of Charles as Prince of Wales at Caernarvon Castle next July may have more fireworks than our own Independence Day. Welsh and Scottish nationalists contemptuously refer to him as "Charlie the Greek," an allusion to his father's former citizenship. On a recent foray into Wales—hopefully, his future fiefdom—he was greeted with signs of "Charlie Go Home," several smoke bombs, and a young woman who told him that he was "not very bright." During the last two years, Charles has been pushed into the limelight by his family, and Celtic nationalists have focused on him as a symbol of English domination. His future looks stormy.

Last July, Gwynfor Evans, a Welsh university professor, made history by becoming the first member of the nationalist party, the Plaid Cymru, to win a seat in Parliament. Mr. Evans, who is in contact with separatist Celts in Scotland, Cornwall and Northern Ireland, has a tremendous following among young people. In his view, "The Welsh people are now on the march."

Their neighbors to the north in Scotland also appear to be answering ancient rallying cries. In November, 1967, Mrs. Winifred Ewing, a 38-year-old Glasgow lawyer, astonished political observers by winning an upset victory over a Labor party majority to represent Hamilton, Lanarkshire, in Parliament. Her Scottish nationalist party claimed only 2,000 members six years ago; today it reports 100,000 dues-paying members.

While many observers in the United Kingdom regard the Celtic resurgence as a romantic movement, small and impractical, others view it seriously. Among them, and with good reason, is A. T. Evans (no relation to Gwynfor Evans), Welsh Labor Member of Parliament from Caerphilly. His narrow margin of under 2,000 votes over his opponent, Dr. Phil Williams, Welsh nationalist candidate, drew widespread notice—and concern—among British politicians. Williams cut 19,000 votes from the Labor majority.

Mr. Evans believes that nine-tenths of Welsh youth are behind the Plaid Cymru. "There is always an attraction for young people in any radical, breakaway cause, "coupled with their romantic image of ancient Celtic culture," he said. Kenvyn Richard Jones, Conservative party Councilmember in Caerphilly, is less kindly disposed. He recently compared the youths with "the Hitler movement."

Likewise concerned is Scotland Yard, particularly since the disclosure of an extremist plot to prevent next July's investiture of Prince Charles. The Yard received information that a serious attempt involving personal violence would be made to stop the ceremony. As a result, undercover police agents have been moved into Northern Wales and Western Ireland, where extremists reportedly are being trained with guns and explosives.

Taking the nod from the Irish during their struggle for independence, the Welsh and Scots have organized counterparts of the Irish Republican Army. Although the Free Wales Army is officially disowned by the Plaid Cymru, such activities as blowing up post offices and reservoirs are winked at by the party. The army appears to be organized by people with a knowledge of guerrilla warfare. Local authorities have been lax in making arrests.

Among much of officialdom, there is a tolerantly amused attitude that "the Celts are at it again." Just a week before the plot against Prince Charles was revealed, a prominent government figure in London brushed off a question about the Free Wales Army by replying, "Three men and a dog." When pressed about its strength, he conceded, "Oh well, five men and a very old dog."

Nationalism reasserted itself in Wales and Scotland during the 1920s. The resurgence was submerged during World War II, but it renewed itself in postwar years until today, according to many observers, it represents a form of "extreme displeasure" with the status quo. They regard it as frustration with efforts by both major parties to cope with problems of a shrinking Empire, unemployment and shifting values. Indeed, there are Welsh and Scots voting nationalist who are less concerned with ancient Celtic culture than with registering protest against growing centralization of power in Westminster.

While Welsh nationalists want complete independence, even to naming their own ambassador to the United Nations, many of their counterparts in Scotland say they would accept a Commonwealth status instead. Others hold out for complete self-rule.

However, the predictions of economists and business analysts are that independence would mean financial disaster for the two countries. They argue that without British government subsidies to support flagging industries, such as coal and steel in Wales, and to encourage development of new ones, both countries will suffer. Industrial problems are compounded by outmoded production methods, dwindling coal deposits, union difficulties and emigration of many young people to better job opportunities in England. Economists claim that major industrial unemployment would run as high as 30 to 50 percent in Wales, and somewhat less in Scotland, if independence is achieved.

In Northern Ireland, meanwhile, support for the Nationalist party continues to grow. Acts of civil disobedi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence are mounting amid cries of home rule for Ulster.

If all this turmoil were not enough to confront a young Prince of 19, there has long been a movement afoot in England to abolish the monarch altogether. Many think that all the pageantry, titles and duties of Crown Prince are archaic today and should be swept away. But the fact remains that in the normal course of events Charles will be invested as Prince of Wales next July, shortly before his 21st birthday, (he was born Nov. 14, 1948), and eventually will succeed to the throne as Charles III. But, with the unpredictable Celts around, who can tell whether the Queen and her family may not have to set up shop in Australia? JERRY O'CONNELL

(Jerry O'Connell is a New York free-lance writer recently returned from Great Britain.)

Cop-Out on Community Relations?

Community relations are "in" these days among police departments across the country. Police officials are setting up storefront stations in the ghettos, establishing citizen committees to air grievances and carry out crime-prevention programs, sponsoring police involvement in youth activities. Yet, despite the flurry of activity, there is strong evidence that the programs are only half successful at best, and doomed to failure at worst.

This is an assessment that has to be made after a review of three of the most highly touted police-community relations programs in the country.

Consider San Francisco first. A Michigan State University survey cited by the Crime Commission found that city's programs to be probably "more successful in reaching the hard-core poor and members of minority groups, and changing their image of the police from an adversary to a friendly one, than any other community relations program."

San Francisco accomplished this by sending young cops, some of them college-educated, out into the ghettos to help young blacks obtain jobs by explaining their police records to prospective employers. They set up recreational activities. They talked their language and earned their trust.

These policemen, wearing civilian clothes and some sporting Afro natural hair styles, developed an unusual concept of their role. "We are public servants. We don't have to push people around, take charge or show authority . . . They looked at me not as an oppressor, but as a protector and part of the community."

The community relations officers were so effective that some of the toughest kids in the ghetto gave a party and $22 attaché case to one officer when he took a leave of absence for a government job. The officers "explained" 200 youths into jobs and contacted 5,000 persons in one 10-month period. They sponsored scores of athletic events, dances and other recreational activities. They turned one "gang" into constructive self-help channels. They talked at Black Panther meetings. They converted a rock-throwing problem into a rock cleanup. They enlisted the aid of 22 street workers to help dispel rumors and ease hostilities. They established citizen committees whose meetings sometimes turned into verbal free-for-alls over police problems.

For all of that, however, the San Francisco program must be rated a near-failure at this point because, although it reached the "unreachables," it has not reached into its own police department to modify police practices that escalated ghetto hostilities—harassment, overdisplay of police presence, verbal and physical abuse.

As one officer expressed it, the community relations unit became almost a ghetto within the department. Uniformed rank-and-file policemen harassed its officers and advocated its termination. Lt. Dante Andreotti, 21-year police veteran who built the unit and became beloved among minorities, finally quit to take another job, confessing failure to get the message "down to the foot soldier."

Said a former community relations officer, "I never was able to get the department to change practices as a result of complaints. I took complaints and never heard any more about them and neither did the complainants. About there, if you have the pulse of the community, you begin to lose it. The people say, 'Don't put me in that bag, baby, you can't do nothing for me.' "

A black street worker told it from another vantage point. "We've been called by community relations to go into a crisis situation and help to quiet things down. We do it and along comes the tactical squad to use physical force. It makes the street worker look as if he is working for the police, and puts his life in danger."

Thus, after six years of community relations in San Francisco, a black policeman said, "If you had seen as much police brutality as I have seen in the past two years, you wouldn't believe it." And a local NAACP official felt compelled to offer a plan to change the "racist attitudes" of San Francisco police.

Then consider St. Louis. This city's program is the oldest (10 years) and probably the most comprehensive in the country in setting up a dialogue with the community. It, too, was praised in the President's Crime Commission report. Citizen committees meet monthly to hear about law enforcement problems or police procedures and to undertake crime-stop programs. Uniformed officers work out of storefront centers to regain the rapport that foot patrolmen used to have with residents of their beats. Policemen talk to every school class in the city, use a "swinging bus-mobile" to sponsor street dances, hire junior aides with police records, and even plan to talk with unwed mothers before childbirth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so the women will have a favorable image of police to give to their children.

But critics charge that much of the St. Louis effort, under the direction of a former newspaper-public relations man, is too much in the nature of a public relations campaign. The many brochures. The many citizen committees. The businessmen's groups. The many programs. In fact, the director expresses little propensity to question the department policies—such as use of firearms—that have created tensions in the minority community. Under that policy, police shot and killed at least 18 persons and wounded 13 others in the past 3½ years. Some community relations officers frankly admit that police practices have tended to neutralize their bridge-building programs. Civil rights leaders recently contended that "repressive police tactics" against a black nationalist ghetto self-protection organization would provoke more violence than it would stop.

St. Louis also seems to have been less than successful in reaching hostile elements in the minority community. "In areas with most of the problems," said one police official, "we have very little participation in our programs." Again, critics say that complaints about police practices are discouraged at the citizen committee meetings. "They make you look like a troublemaker if you say something," said a minister in a black district. Indeed, the practice at most meetings is to require that the complaints be submitted in writing. Meantime, police cars are pelted with bricks and bottles when they go through the Pruitt-Igoe public housing project.

Finally, consider Baltimore. Here, too, the city has a wide-ranging program that includes storefronts, citizen committees, youth activities, and close liaison with black and white organizations. Baltimore was cited for its "successful" program in the Kerner report. It is the only program of the three that has a black director—a former Army officer. But Baltimore also has had its problems and its critics. It has not had the San Francisco success in reaching the angry young men. The department has come under criticism for police brutality. The storefront centers are far from being beehives of activity.

No Luck in Michigan

Despite a $15,000 grant from the Justice Department and fancy publicity featuring Bill Cosby, the comedian, a plan to recruit blacks in the police forces of Michigan has failed.

Apparently, the feelings were mutual. On the one hand, there were only 1,700 requests for information, 375 actual applications, and only "several dozen" hired. On the other hand, "there was less than real enthusiasm from law enforcement officials throughout the state," according to Edward N. Hodges III, the man who ran the recruitment project. (LNS)

Still, the department appears to have done more than the others to eliminate police abuses. An explicit policy statement requires police to address citizens by their appropriate titles and forbids use of derogatory language. Police officials say that this is so strictly enforced that two patrolmen were discharged for verbal racial abuse and two others quit after being disciplined for using the word "nigger."

Baltimore also has a much better record than either of the other two departments in its handling of citizen complaints against policemen. The work of the internal investigation unit, much larger than similar units in St. Louis and San Francisco, resulted in the sustaining of 30 percent of such complaints last year. This is much higher than the 17 percent rate in San Francisco, and the 13 percent figure in St. Louis. Baltimore upheld 9 of 41 complaints on verbal and physical abuse. St. Louis upheld only 1 of 112 such complaints.

Police Commissioner D. D. Pomerleau opposes aggressive frisk tactics—the familiar spreadeagling of a suspect. He also imposes a restrictive firearms policy which —unlike the policy in St. Louis—does not permit police to shoot at the driver of a stolen car. Police in Baltimore are allowed to use deadly force only to protect lives or in crimes of violence.

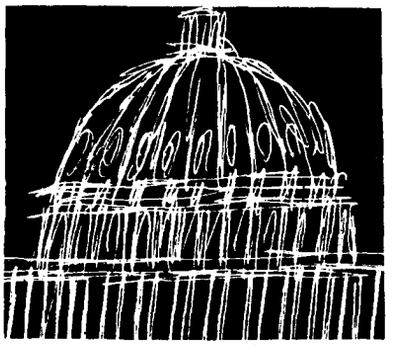
Even with this record, Baltimore, as well as St. Louis and San Francisco—has failed to adopt a Crime Commission recommendation for public hearings on citizen complaints. The processing of grievances in the three cities still remains largely a secret process, with findings, but not the subsequent disciplinary action, if any, eventually reported to the complaining citizen. It is just this practice—in the view of the Crime and Civil Disorders Commission—that leads to distrust and belief of "whitewash" among minority residents.

Another critical factor is the relationship between police and young people. Dr. R. A. Laud Humphreys, Southern Illinois University criminologist, found in a St. Louis study that about 30 percent of the black males in the 17-30 age group were arrested in one year, leading him to conclude that it is virtually impossible for a Negro man to escape arrest before age 30. Other studies have shown that many of these arrests are on suspicion or for minor infractions, resulting in release the next day. This high rate of arrest contact can't help but lead to animosity and greater law enforcement problems.

There is no question but that police are blamed for much that is wrong in the ghettos. They are hated, provoked and even shot at. But until the departments are willing to reform themselves, community relations notwithstanding, the hostility will grow, and the job of maintaining order will become close to impossible short of military occupation. JOE RIGERT

(Joe Rigert, formerly a reporter for The Associated Press, is now an editorial writer for The Minneapolis Tribune.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE SAME TWO NATIONS

WILSON CAREY McWILLIAMS

(Continued from front cover) For Democrats, this campaign was a loser from the beginning, which makes it regrettable that 1968 was the kind of election that kept most of younger America on the sidelines. A losing campaign has the advantage that it is confined to those who value the process more than the result. "The scavengers . . . ," says a character in *The Last Hurrah,* "report *en masse* only when a sure thing is at hand."

This time, the court politicos, whose major concern is to be "in" on things at Washington, smiled secret smiles in contemplation of 1972 and concentrated on improving their relations with Senator Edward Kennedy. The local machines went through the dutiful ritual of endorsing Humphrey, but concentrated their attention on winning the local races where success seemed more likely; in some cases in the Border South—like Tennessee—many officials went a step further, suggesting that the sane course was to let the states go to Wallace to keep them away from Nixon. In the last days, of course, the political vultures caught the sweet, carrion smell of victory and rushed into action, terrified that they might be too late. Humphrey's virtues became clearer as it appeared possible that he might, after all, be able to appoint a speech writer or to help the election of a county sheriff. There are moments of likeness even between Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Richard Daley. But late converts to activity did not greatly affect the campaign.

The Humphrey campaign was run by local Democratic activists, men who see in each campaign an unparalleled chance for political education, given the unwonted interest of the public itself. They are moralists, indifferent to the calculation of whether Wallace might, for example, help the ticket in Tennessee, and concerned largely with keeping a kind of faith with the voters and with themselves. It is only too likely that one will disagree with them, and about many things, but that does not affect the capacity to love them. A campaign has its moments of insight into the nature of human things.

WILSON CAREY MCWILLIAMS, *who teaches political science at Brooklyn College, campaigned nationally for the Democratic ticket.*

Across the Color Line

In the early weeks, while liberals wavered or heckled, it was impossible not to notice the blacks. Humphrey did not excite them, but in audiences, they could be counted on as friends, fully aware and responsive ones, and almost alone in that. They were—as Mailer knew—part of the broad-nostriled element of politics, less sensitive to tainted odors, made less fastidious by need. Democratic campaigners must, over and over again, have felt themselves partly across the color line; white faces were likely to divide between the suffused faces of the Wallaceites and the steely-eyed countenances of dissenting liberals. Black faces which had endured much for little return and somehow kept a faith compelled a return of that faith in kind; it may have major long-range effects, for to break the faith now would leave any Democrat a little less than a man.

In Nashville, I sat in a bar one night with two academic colleagues—one white and one black—discussing the campaign in the rational-intuitive way which is the mirror of campaigning itself. The owner, straight from the pages of the Southern myth, discoursed to us in genteel tones on the difficulty of raising a race from cannibalism

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to civilization in so short a time. My own response—most un-genteel and savage—proved, perhaps, that men do not rise from cannibalism at all. Campaigns are like that, too. There is a primordial note; campaigns factor out much that is peculiar and accidental in favor of values and concerns which are more fundamental and more shared. Every election is a crisis of identity, but for those inside it, each moment of crisis pays the immediate dividend of friends—and of a true recognition of enemies. The world of halves in which we live, half friends and half enemies with those we meet, half a person with ourselves, yields for a time. A good campaign is war without the knife; as Murray Kempton realizes, the knives come out only when the returns are in.

The Hard Choice

The campaign, however, is only a prelude to election day, and the day was a surprise. Having produced little more than indifference, the election ended with a gigantic vote and a note of voter interest—even of passion. The election of 1968 was like that of 1960: it produced no clear-cut issues and—Muskie aside—no notable men. Whatever meaning existed in it had to be discovered—or put there—by the voters themselves. The choice did not seem automatic, as it had in 1964.

It was a hard choice, but because of that, once the voter had made it, he had no doubt that it was *his*. Small wonder that my liberal friends who eventually came around felt worse about the result than those of us who had been with the Democrats from the first. It had cost them to make the decision, and it hurt to have paid the cost for nothing.

The first choice in politics is always "Who are you with?" not "What are you for?" Anyone who can answer the first can manage some kind of answer to the second. The politics of ideology, as Silone wrote some years ago, is more often than not an effort to find someone to be with. Vietnam hardly helped matters, but the war was rarely the reason given when someone told you he "could not" be for HHH. The real difficulty was Chicago, because being for Humphrey seemed to imply being with Daley and against the kids. That is why it helped that most cops seemed to be for Wallace, and why Democrats stressed that you couldn't be against Daley without being against blacks—not ideologically, but as a political and social fact.

Make the present ambiguous and with little choice and men must choose on the basis of the past or the future, and the past speaks to the emotions of men, quietly and certainly, as the future does not. It might have been different if Nixon had talked at all or if HHH had been a bit more up-to-date, but as it was, Nixon relaxed and relied on the unconscious and Humphrey spoke about the New Deal. The result was foreordained; like Joshua, confronted with a choice between the God of their fathers and the God of the Canaanites, Americans preferred old friends to strangers.

Murray Kempton had it right: we are "two nations." Nothing new in that; we have been two nations—the same two—all along. The Old America is white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle-class and—for the most part—Northern; it is our mental picture of the 1880s, enshrined by Walt Disney and Norman Rockwell. The new America is everyone else. The election of 1960 brought that division to the fore and 1968 was only a re-edition with minor variations. The South is a little more unhappy with the present and a little more contented, psychologically, with the America of the Gilded Age. Not much; not enough to vote Republican in any numbers (Nixon's percentages in the South were lower than in 1960) but enough to vote for Wallace in throngs and give Nixon his border-state victories. The Democratic candidate was a Protestant whose oratory was homiletic, and who did better, consequently, in the Western and plains states, but not enough better, and by the same token, a little worse in Catholic areas of the industrial states—enough worse to cost him the election. If there were fewer Negroes for Mr. Lincoln, there were more ethnic voters for Jefferson Davis; it was more notable that Polish-Americans in Erie County, New York, managed to stomach the blacks and the Jews who seemed to be for Senator Muskie well enough to give him a majority. Where are the snows of yesteryear? Right in the election returns, that's where.

The problem is that they are not anywhere else. Mr. Lippmann—and others—will discover that "stability" isn't to be had by voting for Nixon and for doing nothing for four years; change being *the* fact of our national life, it isn't to be had at all. We cling to the lost hope of stability because we have nothing better. Ideas for the future of the country—and there are few enough—do not seem to touch the present, and without an alliance of present and future, the past prevails.

Liberal, intellectual America has failed, not so much as an architect of policy, but as a political educator. It has failed in the essential political task of binding the times together, connecting past and present with the future by giving voters some inkling of why they are disturbed and what they might do about it. Psychological America, the way we feel, diverges ever further from behavioral America, the way we act; when we try to do the "right thing," it doesn't work, and when we do what works, we feel guilty. It is not a healthy state, and it produces anger; all that varies is the object of blame—hippies or the establishment, the blacks or the middle-class, or, more painfully, ourselves.

The reasons for the failure are many. The task of political education is harder now; cause and remedies are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more complex, more difficult to explain. Too, the voter is more suspicious, fearful of being "sold" politically as he is economically. It is also true, however, that liberal, intellectual America is more isolated than ever before, shut out of the life of the rest of the country by social and physical space, able to see it only as an abstraction. It is lonelier, too, more sensitive, more inclined to seek the companionship and reinforcement of the like-minded. Seventy percent of Americans think Mayor Daley was right; it is simpler and more gratifying to discuss with friends the question of *how* he should be punished than to try to persuade others he should be punished at all.

Wallace and the Liberals

The task of political education requires short-term rebuffs, and liberalism is psychologically not equipped to bear them. Probably, it never was, but once it was certain that it fought on the side of history and would ultimately prevail. Now it is doubtful and ventures forth only for sure things (it would be better if, like the right, it felt that it fought against history; that view, common to conservatives and the new left, at least stimulates men to see the need of striving *now* to hold back defeat). Even among Democrats who were *for* Humphrey, signs of life followed the upward movement of the polls—a fact which is sadder because the returns make clear that a little more effort, a bit earlier, might have reversed the result.

The McCarthy campaign certainly showed that political education is possible. True, it had some of the worst foibles of liberalism; unable to stand the hurt of defeat, there was a tendency to lose on principle in order to have the consolation that the campaigners hadn't really tried or had been unable to descend to the level necessary for success. There were times when the O'Dwyer campaign seemed moved by the fear that their candidate might finish higher than third. Even at worst, however, both campaigns showed how much can be done with few resources even in the short term, and might be studied to find out how even more might be done in the long quadrennium ahead.

Unfortunately, events have conspired to make it possible for liberal America to continue at the old stand. First, after all, there is Ted Kennedy, a candidate so sure to win that the only question seems the size of the victory. The Senator seems likely to give the Roosevelt coalition another eight years of posthumous life—for that is all the life it has, resting on remembrance of ancient kings.

Second, there is the fact that having been unduly terrified about Wallace, liberalism is busily assuring itself that since he wasn't as scary as it feared, he wasn't scary at all. It is the old, siren call of complacency. The *New York Times* wonders if the election may not have been Wallace's "last hurrah" and like the rest of the media discovers that Wallace was only a "sectional candidate." Wallace may have carried only the Deep South, but he kept the Democrats from winning New Jersey and the Border States—and what else, no one knows. He received the vote of one out of seven Americans despite the argument that such votes would be "wasted," and it is foolish to forget the Northern voters who were tempted but who yielded to the logic of that argument in the end. Their anger is real enough, and they will not always be obliging. The problem is cultural, not "sectional"; after all, it would be easy to call Humphrey a "sectional candidate" because he won so little outside the Northeast.

Mr. Nixon will know better than the media. He will want re-election; in fact, it may be his only coherent policy goal. And for 1972, the votes can only come from Wallace's supporters. That will, by the way, make it hard on Southern blacks; Nixon will want to hold what he has, at least, and that includes Strom Thurmond. The movement for race equality may have to shift South again, just to keep what has been gained.

Only Kempton seems to have noticed that the real lesson of the Wallace campaign is that his voters are ambiguous and hence educable. Many eventually voted for Humphrey and even those who stuck with George were not willing, on the whole, to vote Republican for Congress even if voting Democratic meant voting for a liberal. The fact that it is almost a toss-up whether they hated blacks or Republicans worse suggests a surprising awareness that the race question isn't a real question at all. The real hatred was against liberals and "pin-head intellectuals," who ignore or laugh at the little guys—if they happen to be white. There might even be some mileage in proving that it isn't so—though up to now it has been—and that there are better ways out of obscure pettiness into the *Times* and national television than the path of Anthony Imperiale and James Ray. Liberals should learn that though men want to be heroes, they will settle for the role of villain; villains, at least, do not get mocked or forgotten in the shuffle.

Finally, liberals seem to have convinced themselves that the source of their woes is the electoral college. It is a characteristic liberal belief: tinker with the mechanism and ignore the current that makes the machine run. The existence of the college made Wallace weaker, not stronger; there were too many states where it was clear that it was a throw-away to vote for him. (Stanley Plastrik proposed, in a letter to the *Times* a two-ballot popular vote to go to the candidate who won a majority; in this campaign, it would have given Wallace maximum bargaining power.)

Worse, a change in the college would shift the rules of political strategy. The college is the foundation of the power of minorities. Jews and blacks are few in number, but located strategically, in states where small pluralities

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

win many votes; in 1960, Democrats were willing to risk the anti-Catholic vote to win marginal Catholic voters in the same states. The college means that no minority can be altogether ignored. In 1948, Henry Wallace won 2.8 percent of the popular vote (about a quarter of George's, this time) but swung 73 electoral votes—about 15 percent—away from the Democrats.

A popular vote means a campaign wholly aimed at the "mainstream" and likely to maximize alienation among those outside it. "One man, one vote"—admirable under ideal circumstances—means only that the political system acts on the principle, "every man a statistic." If we recall that "one man, one toothbrush" has been the rule for some time, and consider its effect on economic merchandising, it may give us pause regarding analogous measures for politics. Equality is not produced by forgetting that Americans are *not* equal—and certainly not equivalent. It requires protecting the weak, to some degree, against the indifference of the strong.

Liberal America will probably keep the old slogans and the old illusions, and for the short term they may be good enough. The times, however, are out of joint, and anger—far from being the prerogative of the right—has become a fact of national life. There may be less time than anyone guesses in which to recapture for Americans their status as political animals, and it is surely necessary to begin. That is the final—and the compelling—verdict on the election of 1968.

The fruit of accommodation

WALLACE AS CATHARSIS

MICHAEL ROGIN

Wallace began, in September, with 22 percent of the popular vote. (Hitler, catapulted to the center of German politics by the 1930 election, had won 18 percent.) Wallace's support made sense. It was a terrifyingly simple confirmation of the crisis in American society. The country was gripped by a panicked hysteria. Vietnam, King, Kennedy, Chicago, riots, all congealed in a growing current of anomic violence. Political leaders were unable to cope with any of it, or to offer meaning to the bewildered electorate. Only Wallace addressed the mass anxiety. So interpreters came to see in his movement their own sense of what had gone wrong in the country.

Wallace rallies, as many observers reported them, expressed the emptiness, tawdriness, and suppressed violence in urban working- and lower middle-class existence. Wallace supporters felt personally invaded by Negroes, "anarchists," and intellectuals. The life-styles of dissident minorities threatened the principles around which their own existences depended. The empty order of their lives was too weak to withstand the turmoil outside. Vietnam, draft resistance, riots, and civil rights had generated rage; this now found its outlet in verbal violence to restore law and order.

Wallace supporters felt powerless to protect their jobs, neighborhoods, wives, and children; they could not control their own lives. Much of this sense of dispossession expressed itself against scapegoats; yet it was true, some commentators argued, that Wallace supporters lacked any influence on the centers of power in the society. They were forgotten men; they did not control the conditions of their existence. For example the trade unions, intended to restore power to workers, had become another bureaucracy imposed upon them. Workers, it was said, felt estranged from and oppressed by the union hierarchy. They could not control the pace or conditions of work on the job. Union political attitudes—militance on the war, enthusiasm for the New Deal, silence on race—failed totally to speak to workers' concerns.

Unions were not the only institutions that had lost contact with their members; so too, it seemed, had political parties. Traditional party loyalties, forged by the New Deal and hereditary attachments going back even further, had been seriously eroding since 1952. In the presidential elections from 1952-1964, enormous numbers of voters (not necessarily the same ones in each election) had voted against their alleged party allegiance. The events of the last four years, placed in the context of this already weakened party loyalty, seemed sure to destroy the traditional constituency of the Democratic Party. Who else but the Democrats could voters blame for Vietnam, the urban explosions, and the deep malaise in the country?

Moreover, neither party had offered a candidate with any appeal whatsoever to the enormous mass of discontented voters. Kennedy, it was clear, could have reestab-

MICHAEL ROGIN *is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of California.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished the Democratic, ethnic, working-class coalition. Reagan could appeal to alienated working-class and petit-bourgeois elements on a different basis; both would have hurt Wallace badly. Both would have spoken to the American collapse. But Humphrey could hardly face that collapse, since it was his own. Instead he buried himself in his past, spreading his insides over everything. Humphrey insisted, with a frenetic belief in the omnipotence of words, that his identity and the country's were still intact. Nixon had determined that the safest course was to remove his person from his body, and respond to nothing at all. The world might end with Humphrey's fire or Nixon's ice, but only Wallace seemed able to focus the actual cries of rage.

America, then, was in deep, deep trouble. Unions in large numbers were pretending nothing was happening. The major parties either ignored the convulsions they had helped create or else tried to beat them out of existence. Connections between political and labor leaders and their constituencies had dissolved. The barren discontent in American life had become a political force just when the barrenness of normal American politics offered it no outlet. Ordinary people were aggrieved, and only Wallace spoke to them. It was thus that the symbolic significance of the 1968 election drained out of the major party contest and into the Wallace campaign. Reality in American politics seemed to have left the major parties for the Wallace uprising.

The Outcome

Wallace ended, election night, in a nearly empty Montgomery ballroom. On stage were Wallace, his parents, his children, his son's wife's parents (or were they his daughter's husband's?), Lurleen's parents, and Mr. and Mrs. Curtis E. LeMay, absorbed into the family. The scattering of people in the empty hall would no doubt become part of the family too; but it seemed a slower and more exclusive process than Wallace (and the rest of us) had once thought.

Wallace ended, in the North, with 7 percent of the popular vote. Nevada and Idaho were his best states. In California and Wisconsin his strongest support came from small, poor, isolated, sparsely-populated counties—little Nevadas and Idahos. Were the actual grievances of Wallace-supporters—symbolic of the American crisis—nothing but family feuds and gun control?

What of the expected Wallace constituencies? Urban and suburban southern California, the traditional center of right-wing strength, was not disproportionately for Wallace. Nixon had always received southern California support, even in his 1962 gubernatorial primary contest against a right-winger. Even before the election it was clear that Nixon (with Reagan's help) would deny Wallace much of his "natural" southern California base. Where a major party organized the grievances of a potential Wallace constituency, it could evidently diminish the significance of the third party.

Potential Wallace voters outside California had no such natural home in a major party. Nevertheless, they too turned to Humphrey and Nixon in large numbers. Wisconsin urban and suburban counties around Negro ghettos, which supported Wallace on the race issue in the 1964 primary, were not among his strongest counties in 1968. The "natural" Wallace working class constituency in other states was apparently no more for Wallace than more "sophisticated" neighborhoods. In Ohio—Wallace's 12 percent there was his best showing in a Northern, industrial state—NBC reported Wallace running best not in working-class but in upper-middle-class areas. In selected precincts where the median income was more than $12,000, Wallace got 45 percent of the vote. In Kentucky his strongest showing was in suburban (rather than, say, working-class) areas. At one point election night NBC reported the Wallace vote among several types of precincts in a number of Northern states. By far his best showing, 30 percent, was in urban, upper-middle-class precincts; among union families the figure was 16 percent. These figures are suspect, since they show Wallace running much better than in fact he did; but the distribution of the vote had not, nevertheless, been anticipated.

In fact the labor vote held for Humphrey (or at least against Wallace) much better than anyone had thought. True, qualifications and exceptions must be noted. In Massachusetts, where the Kennedy appeal apparently overcame strong racist voting in recent Boston elections, unions could not claim credit for the very small Wallace showing. In addition, Wallace must have piled up a large vote in many working-class neighborhoods; probably these were simply areas with a recent history of intense racial conflict. But apparently racism (much less general alienation) was not strong enough in areas where it was not immediately salient, to overcome other considerations.

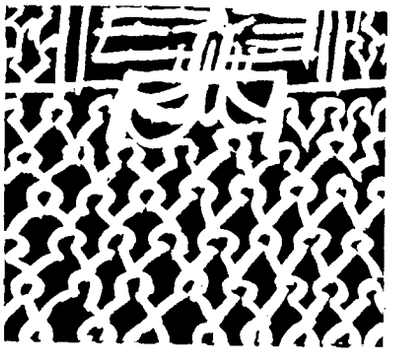
Wallace seemed to run better in the cities of the industrial Midwest than those of the Northeast, but this simply points to a surprising distribution of party support. The pattern of the Nixon-Humphrey vote recalled the 1960 election; then too the Democrats were atypically strong in the Northeast compared to their showing in the rest of the country. (Thus the *New York Times* preelection survey underpredicted Nixon's strength in the South and border states, and over-predicted his strength in the Northeast.) The 1960 pattern, and the further drift from the Democrats in the Southern and border states, suggested that the shifting party loyalties of the 1960s might not be temporary or random. Perhaps this was the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beginning of a new, more stable party alignment. Then the Wallace campaign, like the third party movements of 1892, 1912, and 1924 might have provided a temporary home for voters in the process of switching major parties. Had Wallace not been on the ballot, these Midwestern "Democratic" votes might have gone to Nixon, not Humphrey. Conclusions that the Wallace vote hurt Humphrey in the North, based on the past Democratic allegiance of these voters, overlook the possible party shift.

Surely estrangement from the major parties had been overestimated even more than estrangement from the labor bureaucracy. The most striking development of the campaign was the return of temporary Democratic defectors to Humphrey. Nixon seemed from the polls neither to pick up nor lose a single vote between the convention and election day. Instead Wallace- and McCarthy-supporters returned to the fold. About 40 percent of the original Wallace-strength returned to the Democratic Party; apparently even weak party loyalty was stronger than the grievances to which Wallace spoke, or the feeling the Democrats had to be punished for the last four years.

America fell apart in the year and a half before this election. The Wallace movement had become by September the major symptom of the disease. Now it was as



if nothing had happened. The shifting pattern of party support began in 1960. The resurgence of traditional Democratic strength during the campaign, in the face of threats from right and left, recalled 1948. Remember the eerie pre-election issue of the *ADA World,* in which the aging class of 1948 relived its youth and returned to Humphrey (Humphrey as Humphrey, the 1948 comerade; Humphrey as Truman, the realistic second choice)? It was not so much the choice that was staggering as the perceived overriding relevance of that distant election. But the voting returns seemed closer to the ADA view than to any other. Could this denial of Vietnam, of Chicago, of everything really have had the closest purchase on this election?

What had happened was not, after all, so mysterious. Wallace, having focused the significance of the election around himself, had saved the two-party system. The meaning of the election came to reside in the flight from Wallace. Old friends warned me that my vote for Eldridge Cleaver was a vote for Wallace. It was not just that Wallace made the other candidates look attractive; it was more as if Wallace had absorbed the poison in the body politic, and his weakness could then reassure us that things were not as bad as we thought.

One can argue, of course, about expectations. Apocalyptic fears are almost always disappointed; perhaps that is their function. Wallace received more than 10 percent of the white vote in many Northern cities. He received 3½ million votes in the North, over 9 million in the country as a whole. Even given the depth and extent of popular discontent, and the major party candidates' demonstrated lack of appeal, this vote is an ugly achievement. He could easily do better next time. Wallace is a ridiculous little man; so, many Germans thought, was Hitler. But it misses the point to debate the significance of Wallace's numerical showing, and to conceive the future solely in terms of his success or failure.

In urban ethnic communities, we are told, jobs and the status deriving from them safeguard individual identity. Feeling themselves assaulted by Negroes, many such ethnics supported Wallace. But surely the most important instance of defensive, job-oriented racism during the campaign occurred not among Wallace voters but among New York school teachers. Outraged violence in the name of law and order protects disintegrating identities, we are told. Such verbal violence dominated Wallace rallies. But surely the most important instances of "lawful" violence have occurred not among Wallace mobs but among police. Wallace supporters, we are told, are enraged at students and intellectuals. But in California assaults on the colleges have come not from Wallacite masses but from political leaders and those who actually administer the places of learning. We know that the bankruptcy of the liberal American center—in Vietnam, in our cities—has produced terrible things; the Wallace vote should not be necessary to confirm us in that knowledge.

Many policemen voted for Wallace; few New York teachers did, and no members of the elite liberal center. The point is that in the future, as now, the Wallace movement will be only one, and perhaps not the most important source of danger. Assaults are coming from those to whom is accorded a legitimate place within the social and political structure—teachers, university administrators, policemen. We are learning to accommodate ourselves to these assaults. Such accommodations, made often in the name of discouraging a mass-based extremist movement, may actually legitimize one. No doubt the influence will be reciprocal: just as the Wallace movement has lent legitimacy—by contrast—to the once-discredited center of American politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Gompers formula cannot survive

LABOR'S LOST BET

JOSEPH HILL

Those who wanted to see in the Nixon victory a break-up of the "old politics" coalition of the city machines, the racial minorities, the South and labor may find the results of Nov. 5 as unsatisfactory as those who sought to prove that a broad appeal to the mainstream could overcome the frustrations and times of torment that have been 1968.

George Meany had staked the future of not only his leadership but that of the powerful AFL-CIO on the gamble that the old politics could make one last hurrah. In what amounted to an all-or-nothing political bet, with his own house in internal disorder from Walter Reuther's defection on the left and the Wallace movement's appeal to the disgruntled ranks on the right, labor's old man went right down to the wire with Hubert Humphrey.

The rationalizations that labor's chieftains will make about his loss will not be without some merit. With their massive outpouring of anti-Wallace literature in the past two months, and the heavy bread-and-butter argument against the Alabama spoiler, they can claim much of the credit for keeping the third party total below 10-million. Initial readings of the returns would suggest that barely a fourth of the Wallace total could be counted as Northern blue collar, with only part of this union-card holders. Considering the numbers of union people who populated Wallace rallies through much of the campaign, this was a considerable accomplishment. The well-oiled and well-financed union machine came through as did no other sector of the old coalition.

Like every other sector of the body politic, Meany's constituents could not have avoided the impact of the two greatest phenomena in American politics in 1968: Eugene McCarthy and his crusade of young people and intellectuals, and George Wallace and his army of "little people" and many union card-carrying "folks." Both represented a challenge to the traditional role of organizational labor in politics. And while McCarthy worked from within and had a pro-labor, if unexciting, record, Wallace attacked the two-party system and the institutions of government itself as a fraud and a deception, mounting one of the most successful third party efforts in the history of American politics.

JOSEPH HILL *is a pseudonym for a journalist specializing in labor affairs.*

Both faced the wrath of mainline AFL-CIO leadership. The appeal of McCarthy to rank and file membership was limited, but it attracted a notable representation of second and third echelon leadership and a great deal of sympathy among union technicians who have long been uncomfortable with the drift to the right among some segments of leadership. The Wallace inroads were considered significant enough for the candidate to spend five minutes of a 30-minute windup speech at the election-eve rally in Atlanta reading a long list of local union officials who supported him (he also claimed the campaign services of the International President of the Asbestos Workers, a member of the AFL-CIO General Board).

In measuring the depth of any "no confidence" mood among the ranks in union labor this year, whether with McCarthy in the primaries or a Wallace vote Nov. 5, it would appear that the Gompers formula—reward your friends and punish your enemies—cannot long survive the realities of today, however, redefined the formula may be. Ernest Calloway, a Negro business agent in the Central Conference of Teamsters, has provided one of the sharpest commentaries on labor's times of torment:

"Politically, U.S. unionism is in real trouble. It is the difficult trouble of human gaps, ignored pulses and changing thought patterns. It is the trouble of standing still in a wide panorama of change. For nearly two decades union membership attitudes have been changing from the warm and personal 'our union' to the cold, impersonal 'the union,' and from urban thought patterns of common goals, common struggles against common enemies to the complex anxieties and fears of suburban America, where over 60 percent of union membership resides today."

There are contradictions to this thesis, but it is an essential political truth in that bread-and-butter arguments and historical recitations of who brought Social Security, Medicare and aid-to-education have little weight among younger unionists and those who have left the inner city slums to purchase and maintain small homes, and whose fear of black militancy is of one against their jobs and homes. Many of these union families apparently expressed their fear by voting for Wallace and then, "covering their bets," going to the Democratic column to vote

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the Democratic congressional candidates who have represented tangible past advances.

Those who would dismiss the Wallace union vote as but the unrest of the little man, who feels distant, ignored and alienated, and who does not identify with the bureaucracy of local and national union leadership, must first recognize that participation by the rank and file in union activities has traditionally been but 15 to 20 percent of the membership. It is not likely that the Wallace activist in the union—who in many instances has been the malcontent and the "nay-sayer" in the shop and mill—will now become a union activist. This group has always resented the dues checkoff, has been philosophically conservative, has in many instances voted Republican, and has resented being categorized in labor's ranks.

If the gulf between membership and leadership is a cause for concern to those who have experienced power through the coalition that has existed in Washington for all but eight of the last 36 years, then what is happening at the top could have ominous implications. George Wallace won the open conversion of an International Union president, but Dick Nixon paraded his own labor house boy in the form of David J. McDonald, deposed president of the 1.2-million member Steelworkers. And reports from Pennsylvania had 400 "top union officials" rushing to pump Nixon's hand at an off-the-record Pittsburgh meeting in the final weeks of the campaign, while Victor Reisel claimed that "the leader of one of the oldest, most militant former CIO unions" conferred with labor's old enemy on Nov. 1, promising "to sit on their (union) hands and treasuries."

The Wallace vote, the McCarthy impact in Democratic politics, the dissolution of the internal party makeup at Chicago are all academic subjects now. George Meany's political bet lost—but by such a narrow spread that he will no doubt save face in the AFL-CIO Federation. All signs will point toward an increasingly rightward trend in its political orientation, and Gus Tyler with his "Liberal Crisis" papers has already warned of the consequences of failing to heed the mainline "lib-lab" line. Meany's *AFL-CIO News* has given an indicator of the post-election line: an "unholy alliance" between left and right extremists, and in the former category are *The New Republic, The Progressive* and other advocates of the new politics.

Of more priority concern in the AFL-CIO structure and infrastructure, in the machines of the affiliates of the 13.5-million labor giant, will be the quick realization that after Jan. 20 they will no longer be sitting adjacent to the levers of power. The Humphrey defeat not only means that George Meany lost his bet, but that American labor faces the distasteful prospect of at least four years of political exile.

Radical education and convention politics

A FUTURE FOR DISSIDENTS

ARNOLD S. KAUFMAN

Where do dissident Democrats go from here? To some extent this will be determined by the results of an election in which the nation voiced its mood with extraordinary precision.

It repudiated Johnson's Administration by defeating Humphrey; but only grudgingly elected Richard Nixon, denying him both an effective popular mandate and a congressional instrument with which to work his will. The nation seemed to tell the Democratic Party that, though it had lost confidence in its old leadership, it had not yet lost confidence in Democrats.

The Wallace wave receded to the unreconstructed South. (Almost 50 percent of his vote came from 11 states—the deep South, plus Tennessee and Oklahoma.) Wallace was denied even a last hurrah when, despite the incredibly close race for the presidency, Nixon managed to eke out an electoral majority. So the nation spared itself a constitutional crisis.

The loss of Senators Wayne Morse and Joseph Clark hurt; near misses by John Gilligan and, surprisingly, William Clark were disappointing; but generally speaking the Senate doves not only held their own, to their numbers were added California's Cranston, Missouri's Eagleton and Iowa's Hughes. Especially interesting is the fact that, except in Connecticut, every Senate dove elected won in states in which Humphrey lost. In House races John Dow was defeated but Al Lowenstein and Edward Koch scraped through.

In short, despite many eddies, the popular trend towards peace and the reduction of international tensions seems to have been reaffirmed. Perhaps the most dramatic, and for a Michigan resident, the most gratifying confirmation of this trend came out of Dearborn, a segre-

ARNOLD S. KAUFMAN, *author of* The Radical Liberal, *is a member of the Steering Committee of the New Democratic Coalition.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gated suburb of Detroit. By a margin of almost 3 to 2, Dearborn's lily-white voters favored a referendum calling for "an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam so the people of Vietnam can settle their own problems."

Only Republican reactions to the Cook County-flip competed with the Dearborn result as a source of enduring satisfaction. It was pleasant to hear staunch defenders of law and order casually assume that their most recent champion, Mayor Richard Daley, was just a common political crook. What else could have accounted for the delayed returns from Cook County? But it was not to be. Having already dealt the Humphrey campaign an enormous blow by provoking the Michigan Avenue hoedown, the Man from Chicago was unable to snatch victory out from defeat.

Two other aspects of the election deserve special mention. With the exception of New York, Humphrey did not carry a single state in which the Democrats had waged a serious primary campaign. And in New York the primary battle, though bitter, was only partial. Second, though organized labor proved to have effectively reversed the Wallace tide in many places, they were equally effective in dashing the election hopes of liberals John Gilligan and William Clark. Unions withheld support from both men in order to punish them for daring to back the minority Vietnam plank and refusing to support Hubert Humphrey at the National Convention. The moral for dissident Democrats is this: we should be ready, at the drop of George Meany's meaty fists, to supply the workers and funds needed when "responsible moderates" pursue a strategy of "rule or ruin." And that requires organization from the level of precinct to nation. A politics of conscience is going to require conscience money and conscientious militants.

A Fragment of Public Trust

It appears, then, that Richard Nixon, one of the most masterful political opportunists in American history, will have to govern a deeply divided country with the knowledge that he has only a fragment of public trust. He will, as always, calculate carefully and do the expediential thing. And if the national mood is accurately reflected by the election's outcome, that means he is likely to tend leftward. For that is how he can most effectively "bring us together again" into a more decisive Nixon electoral majority in 1972.

The precise nature and extent of his move to the left is difficult to forecast. But two things are fairly certain. He is likely to pursue a politically skillful program designed to buy off or placate discontented Americans without impairing the basic structure of power and prerogative that exists in our society. And, in response to Nixon's program, the established Democratic Party leadership will demand that militants mute their criticism of fundamental institutional arrangements so as not to alienate that part of the moderate middle upon which they assume the Party's chances for victory in 1970 and 1972 depend.

And the first argument they will offer in defending their demand for moderation is the claim that the old coalition is not, after all, dead. For in large industrial states like Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan and Massachusetts, Humphrey enjoyed unexpected success. In Michigan some Democratic officials have already begun to crow about the basic health of the grand old coalition. But they are mistaken. For the election signifies a qualitatively different condition of the old coalition than did earlier presidential votes.

In the past the coalition was founded on centripetal forces. Members of the various elements shared goals and convictions; a common and affirmative, even if limited, political faith. But in 1968 the forces that prevail are centrifugal. It was primarily *fear*—fear of Richard Nixon—that held things together. Had the Republicans run Rockefeller, they are likely to have won in a breeze. Like it or not, the old coalition is fragmenting and a new coalition is emerging. The principal tasks of dissident Democrats must be to organize and foster that development.

The new coalition is composed of many elements of the population. They now range from Wall Street lawyers dedicated to the cause of peace, to indigent Indians who eke out a living on reservations. In time the coalition should include whites who live in poverty, but who are presently manipulated into racist attitudes. It should include those now deeply committed to the causes of anti-pollution or good education, but who do not yet see that we cannot have either until American society is restructured in fundamental ways. But two groups are more essential than any of the others: black Americans and students.

Black Americans comprise the largest oppressed segment in American society. They have suffered enormous and historic injustices. Their needs and legitimate claims are correspondingly urgent and great. They suffer the consequences of an unjust distribution of resources *now*. They cannot afford a politics of pure conscience and futuristic goals. Only the affluent can afford to think and act exclusively in such terms. It is surely inverted snobbery or worse to condemn as co-optative welfare programs that provide sustenance to living, suffering human beings.

By contrast, student militants are in what Kenneth Kenniston has called, the *Stage of Youth*. They are typically the offspring of prosperous parents, and know in their gut the spiritual impoverishment that certain forms

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of affluence can breed. They seek to live an authentic life, and lacking inhibiting investment in family and career, are prepared to act on behalf of great moral issues without the internal hang-up of prudent self-interest. They set their sights high and far, and have the vitality and will to pursue these lofty aims. They, more than most others, can save us all from unwarranted accommodation for the sake of comfort and convenience. They constantly remind us how often material prosperity and social success can contaminate man's powers of spirit and of critical thought.

Hence there is a tension between the demands typically made, the vision typically expressed, by black people and by militant students. It is a healthy tension, one that is essential for the new coalition. The one reminds us that there is suffering here and now, that every sacrifice made for the sake of millennial aspirations is a sacrifice of *somebody*. The other reminds us that there exists a future moral prospect whose achievement depends on assaulting basic institutional structures, that if we focus too completely on the here and now, we may squander the chances for a qualitatively better tomorrow. No social movement that fails to grapple with the tension embodied in these two social forces can retain both integrity and effectiveness.

The effort to organize the disparate elements of the emerging coalition began when some of us started the Dump Johnson movement. The extraordinary events of the year just past, the McCarthy and Kennedy candidacies, Johnson's bloodless act of self-regicide, the visible militancy of hundreds of delegates to the Democratic National Convention, have culminated in an effort to organize The New Democratic Coalition. About 250 leaders of the insurgency from over 40 states met in Minneapolis at the beginning of October. Key officials in the Kennedy, McGovern, Phillips and McCarthy campaigns were there. Out of that meeting came a temporary steering committee of some 35 individuals, including Julian Bond, Channing Phillips, Bert Corona, Paul Schrade, Adam Walinsky, Al Lowenstein, Mike Harrington, Jack Gore, Herman Badillo, David Hoeh, Sam Brown, McCarthy youth leader, and Dave Borden, Kennedy youth leader. When selection of the committee is completed, almost half its members will come from the minority and youth communities. The main functions of the Committee are to organize, educate, and plan a founding convention for some time in the Spring of 1969.

During this period of growth there are many things to be done. Our immediate task is to make sure that the nation has the kind of effective opposition party it so desperately needed, and lacked, during the past four years. Nixon's leftward moves should not be permitted to justify a countering move to the right on domestic issues. We must drive home the truth so many who have recently been "radicalized" now acknowledge: fulfillment of traditional liberal ideals requires reconstitution of basic social institutions.

Reordering National Priorities

Moreover, there is an immediate issue which requires forceful action. The struggle for use of the resources to be freed when the Vietnam war ends has already begun. Some want the savings returned in the form of tax cuts. Others want the money to be channelled into a new phase of the arms race. Both groups seem to have Nixon's sympathetic ear. But the New Democratic Coalition wants a fundamental reordering of national priorities that requires reversing the arms race and increasing the flow of social resources into the public sector. Under the leadership of SANE's Sandy Gottlieb—another member of the New Democratic Coalition Steering Committee—an Arms Control and Disarmament Council composed of many peace and church groups has recently been organized. This group is likely to concentrate on educational and lobbying tasks. It is to be hoped that the New Democratic Coalition can provide the political muscle and outlets to larger constituencies required if federation of groups that comprise the Council is to have any chance of success. For it is precisely in politically sensitive areas affecting "national security" and "anti-Communism" that the traditional Democratic Party leadership is likely to prove most vulnerable to the pressures exerted by those who demand arms superiority rather than arms parity.

But the fundamental task of the New Democratic Coalition is to convince a politically organized majority of the American people that basic institutions need to be revamped. And it seems to most of us that there is only one feasible, though complicated, way to mount such an attack—through community organization in combination with radical political education and conventional political organization.

The political education has to convince Americans of the explosive content of their traditional beliefs in due process, democracy, and, more generally, the conditions of a dignified, creative human existence. To give only one example of what I have in mind, if these values were ever to be truly instituted within American industry, the result would be to transform property relationships, forms of industrial control, and conditions of work. Private profit would not be the controlling consideration that, despite all public relations rhetoric to the contrary, it continues to be within the American economy—as Michael Harrington so skillfully explains in his book, *Toward a Democratic Left*. We should have to remove our ideological blinders and take a hard, experimental look at inventive forms of workers' control that are currently

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being tried in some Eastern European states. We should have to come to terms, honestly and in a liberal and empirical spirit, with findings like those described by the sociologist, Robert Blauner. In his work, *Alienation and Freedom*, Blauner claims that "The automobile worker, particularly the man on the conveyor belt, approaches the classic model of the self-estranged man." We should have to trace the connections between this social fact and the incidence of Wallace sentiment among auto workers.

Can such fundamental criticism and programs for change be organized in politically conventional ways? I think so. But it will not be easy, and success will not be certain. An unflagging determination to relate truth and morality to power will have to be implanted in men and organizations.

But we have begun. The Democratic Party may be fragmenting, but the Chicago Convention made plain the vitality and will to change that already exists within the Party. A wedge has been driven deeply into the base of established party power. Now we must consolidate and expand that achievement until the wedge has transformed the Party into an instrument capable of transforming the quality of American life.

MORE ON THE GAP

THE SCREEN

There's been so much talk lately about the generation gap that it almost seems as if differences between parents and offspring were something new. Parent-children rows didn't just start today; they probably went back to the very beginning, and one can imagine Adam and Eve bawling out their kids and being heartbroken when one of them went so bad. And movies too, from their beginning have dramatized the gap. But now we're in for a cycle with a whole series coming up. Nowadays, however, what with psychology and psychiatry everywhere, films are likely to suggest parents are the main reason for kids' leaving home. Last week, in discussing "The Lion in Winter," the 1183 confrontation between Henry II and Queen Eleanor, I tried to make it clear how unhappy this father and mother were with their three sons, but it never seemed to dawn on these bickering parents that they were responsible for much of their boys' behavior. In another new movie, "The Subject Was Roses" set immediately after World War II, the scrapping mother and father suddenly realize that it would be better if their son, fresh returned from the war, would escape from them and *their* war too.

When I saw "The Subject Was Roses" on the stage some three years ago, I was greatly impressed with the play, not because it won both the New York Drama Critics' Award and the Pulitzer Prize but because Frank D. Gilroy's seemingly simple play caught so well the touching drama of a son trapped between a mother and father who are battling continuously, fighting each other and competing for his attentions and love. While the plot had a touch of soap opera, Gilroy's Irish-American dialogue and characters were done to perfection, and the performances were excellent. Gilroy's screenplay has practically the same dialogue, and Ulu Grosbard, who directed the original play, also directed the movie version. And two of the play's three actors, Jack Albertson as the father, Martin Sheen as the son, repeat their roles in the film. But the movie fails to win me as the original did. The two men are good again in their roles: Albertson as the defeated failure, a sort of Willy Loman role, whose shouting and bluff are mainly a cover-up for his frustrations for failing in business as well as in his marriage; Sheen as the son who has grown up while he was away during the war and now uses gaiety as his cover-up for his discouragement at discovering his parents and home are the same mess he left behind several years ago. As the mother, Patricia Neal deserves a warm welcome back to the screen after her long illness. Her suffering face catches well the pain through which this mother and wife is going. But the mother in the movie version is more neurotic and more tough in her quarrelling than was the stage mother, and this makes one wonder if this son wouldn't have left home long before he got snatched into the army.

The play takes place in a single set, the living room of a Bronx apartment. The movie is set in the apartment too, but it moves out every now and then—to take the father and son on an excursion to their place in the country, to take the mother on her lonely excursion to the Jersey shore to escape for a day from her heartbreak at home. I suppose a movie needs to be opened up this way, just as "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" felt the necessity of getting out of that single room in the movie version. But the advantage of the single set idea is the feeling of claustrophobia and confinement that comes with it; and "The Subject Was Roses" needs this sensation of confinement and entrapment. Furthermore, if the camera was going to move out of that Bronx apartment as it does occasionally, then it must move out more, show us the father philandering or the mother and son at those Sunday visits with the boy's grandmother, the visits the boy hates so much.

Since most of the film takes place in the apartment, director Grosbard felt compelled to move his camera around the apartment. He does this skillfully, but he also gives us too many close-ups, and Gilroy's dialogue,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

often mean and petty in the bickering, doesn't stand up quite so well when it comes from an enlarged face on the screen. The theme of "The Subject Was Roses" is worthy of our attention, as is any work concerned with communication and understanding in family life. I only wish the movie version were better, so that one wouldn't be so anxious to escape from this family even before the son does.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

IN A CHRISTIAN FRAMEWORK

ETC.

Among the artists of this century working within a framework of Christian reference, only Robert Bresson has consistently maintained his interest as a modernist of the first order. Others—novelists, dramatists and painters alike—have been led to relax or to forswear their aesthetic radicalism, ending, for the most part, in regression or triviality. One thinks, in this regard, of Mauriac and Graham Greene, whose novels represent minor extensions of certain 19th century forms and conventions, and, somewhat more regretfully, of Bernanos' more generous talent; though impatient with their limits (and that impatience informs the exacerbation of his tone and style), he ended by rehearsing the repertory of Dostoyevskian subversion.

As the verve and ambition of Claudel's *Tête d'Or,* a fascinatingly exact parallel of Brecht's early *Baal,* was dissipated in the spectacular rhetoric of *Christopher Columbus,* so Rouault's youthful Expressionism congealed into the tasteful pathos of the late *Crucifixions.* The relative success of Le Corbusier at Ronchamp, of Matisse in the Chapel at Vence, involved ventures of a strictly occasional, exceptional character by artists of avowedly secular spirit, encouraged by characteristically permissive Dominican patronage.

Bresson's films now constitute an "oeuvre" all the more unique in that it commands, despite the steadily explicit intensification of the Christian theme, the kind of admiration which goes to the freshest and most deeply innovative art in a secular age. *Mouchette,* his most recent film, a *mise en images* of a very young peasant girl's Calvary, pursues the independent, tireless exploration of cinematic syntax, the *mise en relief* of the nature and qualities of narrative form that have given Bresson his pre-eminent place among the most radical of the post-war generation of film makers. It was obvious to anyone following the abundant program of the recent New York Film Festival that he remains the contemporary of the younger masters, of men such as Godard or Bertolucci, rather than of Ophuls or Welles. Like theirs, his mind and style move from film through film, in a steady formal evolution. They move, however with a firmness and security that are his alone, sustained by the strenuousness of his spiritual commitment.

It has become increasingly evident, since *Pickpocket* (1958), that Bresson has performed a kind of inversion of the form-content relationship, so that the Catholic theme acts to "contain" those formal preoccupations which "fill" his work. Progressively, too, the "constriction" which he has described as essential to the formal freedom of his work has been displaced from the level of narrative structure itself to that of theme. For those detached from the spiritual source of this constriction or allegiance, for those detached, as well, from the predominantly rural, artisanal, peasant-based culture in which it has flowered, the tension between form-as-content on the one hand, and theme-as-form on the other, is heightened. This tension is the true source of his famous "Jansenist" style. Bresson's films do increasingly demand from the secular, urban and liberal aesthetic consciousness that willing suspension of disbelief we have been taught to accord the least and most derivative of poets.

That which this literary culture of ours accords to poets, it continues to deny, however, to the film-maker. It is a curious and, above all, a shocking fact that as I write, *Mouchette* remains, together with *Balthasar au Hasard* (shown in the Festival of 1966) inaccessible to the audiences of this country. No major distributor has expressed serious interest in Bresson's late work. Here is a supreme master of *the* contemporary art form, working, as few artists past the age of sixty these days do, both to sustain the quality of his own achievement and to advance the development of that art form, and yet unable to find his public. The situation is not unprecedented; it is, however, intolerable.

The first twenty minutes of *Mouchette* are composed (it is the only word) in such a manner that seemingly disparate situations, dramatic lines, narrative potentials, separate identities converge upon a central destiny, that of a child. The weight and inexorability with which they do so establish the density and logic of a rural world. The convergence is effected by an editing, a framing, movement and direction of actors which combine a disjunctive intransigence with an absolute poise.

Like his younger contemporaries, but with a grand simplicity unknown to them, Bresson makes demands upon the spectator. In *Mouchette* the rewards are directly proportionate to the strictness of these demands, the assertive quality of editing. The use of visual ellipse, interval and displacement forces one's attention back upon the manner in which image, rhythm, sound and silence generate a narrative. Ultimately, one confronts the manner in which that narrative in turn articulates a development, its movement projects a Progress.

As Bresson's films have grown more elliptical in structure and austere in their intention, the gestures performed, objects handled, glances exchanged are pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gressively invested with visual density and splendor. Relationships, defined, as in his earliest masterwork, *Les Dames du Bois de Boulogne* (1954), through trajectories of gesture and glance are now developed and sustained by the rhythm of the increasingly assertive editing. The suppleness and inexorability of this rhythm fuse to suggest a formal analogon of Grace itself, conceived as working through human contingency.

Bresson himself has remarked that he wishes his films to have "the beauty of theorems minus the aspect of proof." The splendor of *Mouchette* is quite simply that of Revelation. Are we prepared to deny ourselves that ultimate luxury? ANNETTE MICHELSON

(Annette Michelson is a contributing editor of Artforum Magazine *and teaches film aesthetics in the Graduate Summer Program at New York University.)*

BOOKS

A moralist's journey into the heart of darkness

Steps

JERZY KOSINSKI

Random House, $4.95

MARTIN TUCKER

In Kosinski's first novel, *The Painted Bird,* a six-year-old boy was forced over a number of years to take giant steps into an awareness of man's potentiality for gratuitous evil and rooted indifference. In his second novel, the hero, now a young man, takes smaller steps, and they are all on the same level, but the totality of his journey is as profound as the one experienced in the earlier novel.

And the presentation of that journey is an amazing *tour de force.* Kosinski takes the reader along a series of steps, or experiences, which do not go up or down, and yet move to the center of a vast, unknowable depth.

The hero in this unconventional novel is a nameless "I" person who narrates a number of experiences; records several dialogues with his nameless mistress, usually while they are in bed and just before or just after their sexual encounters; and expresses his feelings about people and events he has been, like a naturalist, coolly observing. The hero makes no judgments; he records, watches, waits. It is significant that not one character in the novel is given a name, and yet the novel is about the naming of people, or rather the putting into words and names the perceptions the hero has studiously cultivated. In this sense the novel is about the identity —and identities—of human beings; conversely it is about the significance most people deny to another's identity. Perhaps this is the reason so many of the episodes concern characters stripped naked of their clothes. Yet—and this is one of the brilliant ways in which Kosinski conveys his ideas—it is not nakedness which reveals the identity but the clothing which the character has subsumed into his personality.

Thus in one episode the hero sneaks away from an army drill march, and with three other soldiers runs through the woods. Each of the men disrobes, and frolics in a clearing. When the company of marching soldiers approach, the other men run away, but the hero is caught before the advancing corps. Responding intuitively—Kosinski puts it, in a "reflex" action—he stands erect, every part of him, and salutes the commanding officer. Or, in another episode, the hero arranges a proxy assignation. The encounter is made possible by a friend with whom the woman has fallen in love. The friend blindfolds the woman, leaves her bed at a propitious moment, and beckons the hero in. After leaving the woman, the hero cannot envisage her naked; she has not acknowledged him, and he, in turn, is "unable to recall the shape or movement of her body, but vividly remembers the smallest detail of her clothes."

In another sense the novel is about control. Kosinski's preface is a quote from *The Bhagavadgita*: "For the uncontrolled there is no wisdom, nor for the uncontrolled is there the power of concentration; and for him without concentration there is no peace." Kosinki's hero tests his control of the situation by gauging how much cruelty, love, sadism he is able to will into his experiences. The experience is the measure of his control, and thus the limit, and limitation, of his ability to learn. Motivation, in the conventional sense most readers understand, is absent. In its place is a naturalistic awareness of the progression of a situation. In one episode the hero, from a hidden vantage point, hurls bottles at a night watchman on the grounds of a factory. The hero as sniper bears no grudge against the watchman; he is intent on observing the watchman's reactions. The watchman who earlier in his life had deserted from the army, now refuses to flee or take cover in the building a few feet away. He keeps hitting out at the bottles. One of them finally strikes him dead.

In still another episode the hero arranges for a mass rape of a girlfriend who has become tiresome to him. He does not stay for the finale; once having controlled the situation, he departs. With another girlfriend he has different, but related, thoughts: "It occurred to me then that if I introduced her to drugs of a certain kind, and if she became addicted, she might free herself from what she had been. . . . she would acquire new desires and new habits and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberate herself from what she thought of me, from what she felt for me. . . . Like a polyp she would expand and develop in unpredictable directions."

Kosinski's pure, shorn style fits perfectly with his material. He is not after the grotesque or macabre; he is a moralist who prefers the recording of man's potentiality for evil above the construction of feeble excuses for its being. His technique in his second novel is even more impressive than in his first, which relied occasionally on exotic details and a pat conclusion. In *Steps* he foregoes chronology and conventional methods of characterization. The pattern emerges from an association of ideas. One experience leads to the retelling of another experience because of thematic parallels, or a similarity of content. Motifs keep reappearing to give the work a haunting concentration of impressions. In the first episode in the novel the hero picks up a girl and promises her the world through his credit card. In the final episode the hero's mistress is left alone, swimming, a small rotten brown leaf brushing her lips. In the first episode the girl lived with her illusion and paid the price of it; in the last episode the mistress is under the shadow of a wet leaf, but it is a shade of reality, and it has its meaning, a source that never runs dry.

Through his hard, brilliant ordering of material Kosinski has achieved a testament about our times. Like Joseph Conrad, another Pole who learned English as a second language and made it his chief means of literary communication, Kosinski has created a literature indisputably his own and not soon forgotten. Like Conrad, Kosinski shows that man is whatever he *can* be; only he can be much more than he is.

The Money Game

ADAM SMITH

Random House, $6.95

ED ENGBERG

On Wall Street, as in real life, an expanse fertile to speculation separates those able vividly to recall World War II from those who can't. Quote as much as you like from Confucius and Aristotle on the eternally willful ways of the young, the existing severance of generations is a cut apart: as distinctive in its way, one imagines, as the slice made when the schools began to teach that the earth goes around the sun.

In place of unregenerate students, Wall Street offers the evidence of young men, all cuffs and collars and elaborately sideburned, not yet out of their twenties but well on their way towards their first or second (consecutive) million. It is of, to and for them that Adam Smith the Second pseudonymously speaks, and from whom, consequently, we may learn something of the breed.

The principal distinction worth remarking is a difference in Attitude. Adam Smith the elder pointed out that, "When the division of labour has been once thoroughly established, it is but a very small part of a man's wants which the produce of his own labor can supply." Wall Street may therefore be seen as representing the crowning achievement of a commercial civilization: a body of men possessing the largest wants, coupled with the least inclination to labor.

Adam Smith I saw, moreover, what would be required to sustain this community in the eyes of the Lord and of those who worked hard to fulfill lesser wants. The financial community would have to affect an asceticism belying the magnitude of its wants, and an air of haggard solemnity suggesting heavy labor and awesome weight of responsibility. A stoutly maintained appearance of grinding probity had the added effect of keeping off the Street all young men able to make their living some other way.

The jig was up when Lord Keynes discovered that he could make a fortune by devoting half a mornings' hour to his investments each day before so much as leaving his bed. A sentence from Keynes gave Smith II "the *illumine,* the apple falling on the head," that the market ". . . is both a game and a Game, i.e., both sport, frolic, fun and play, and a subject for continuously measurable options [as in Game Theory]. If it is a game, then we can relieve ourselves of some of the heavy and possibly crippling emotions that individuals carry into investing, because in a game the winning of the stake is clearly defined. Anything else becomes irrelevant. Is this so startling?"

Anyone who finds it startling is in some sense too old to make his fortune in the Stock Market: "in some sense" because there are men on the Street in their twenties or thirties who by their cast of mind and the kind of advice they give revere the old ways; and who are susceptible to creeping apoplexy when someone appears on the floor of the Exchange and exclaims, as did one star go-go Fund performer: "Yoicks! [sic]. What Mickey Cohen couldn't do with a setup like this."

On the other hand there is Mr. Johnson, the oppressively successful septuagenarian steward of eleven mutual funds which, as the Fidelity Group, total $3.5 billion:

"I once thought maybe these fellas that have worked on the Eastern sense of consciousness—you know, Alan Watts' studies of Zen—I thought maybe there would be some answers there . . . But Zen, I am just a reader, not a student, and *the market is too complex for Zen.*

"I think the dominant note of our time is unreality. The thin air of the music we all heard has died away. It lasted a long time certainly several decades, but the best rule is: *When the music stops, forget the old music . . .*"

"By the time coffee came," the author adds, "Mister Johnson and I were talking about Sherlock Holmes and the stock market, and Sigmund Freud and the stock market, and *The Ordeal of Change* and Marcus Aurelius."

If you can't see what all that has to do with the market, get hold of a copy of *The Money Game* (subtitled, accurately, "How it is played in Wall Street, what money really is, what we think it is and how it makes us behave"). If you still don't see it, the chances are that your money is in your mattress; leave it there. For your effort you will have been treated to an account of the author's unavailing attempt to chase down a few bucks in the cocoa market

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONCURRENCE

C

HERDER AND HERDER
232 Madison Ave., New York 10016

☐ Please enter my Charter Subscription to *Concurrence* at the special introductory price of $7.50 per year ($10.00 later). I understand that I will also receive my first issue free and can then cancel my subscription if dissatisfied.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Please bill me

CONCURRENCE: A Review for the Encounter of Commitments is the organic outgrowth of scores of meetings between Christians and atheists, believers and non-believers, over the past decade.

The title is meant to suggest the common humanistic heritage binding together all men of good will whatever their political, social, philosophical, or theological convictions. The subtitle defines our scope: "encounter of commitments"—an encounter meaningful to the degree that it is candid and forthright.

The most immediate testimony to the seriousness of our pluralistic intent is the editorial board, which embraces people from every segment of the ideological spectrum including H. J. Blackham, Robert S. Cohen, Leslie Dewart, Dominique Dubarle, Paul K. Feyerabend, Vitezslav Gardavsky, Walter Hollitscher, François Houtart, Justus George Lawler, Milan Machovec, Jurgen Moltmann, Marc Oraison, John A. T. Robinson, and others.

In the contents of each number of CONCURRENCE you will find even more cogent witness to the seriousness of our pluralistic intent. The first issue includes:

> Dominique Dubarle, "Dialogue and Its Philosophy" • Branko Bosnjak, "Hope as Problem and Ideal" • Karl Rahner, "Towards a Theology of Hope" • Cornelio Fabro, "The Positive Character of Modern Atheism" • Robert McAfee Brown, "Faith and Learning: Antithesis or Partnership?" • J. Krejci, "A New Model of Scientific Atheism" • Franziskus Koenig, "The Second Vatican Council and the Secretariat for Non-Believers" • Walter Hollitscher, "The Logic of Atheism"

The pages of CONCURRENCE will regularly be open to the expression of any well-grounded opinion regardless of its consequences in the practical order for partisans of other or opposing views.

CONCURRENCE will be published quarterly. As a Charter Subscriber you will receive the first issue free and the next four for only $7.50. For later subscribers, the price will be $10.00. If, after you receive your free first issue, you find that CONCURRENCE does not interest you, you are free to cancel your subscription at that time.

HERDER AND HERDER
232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that makes Evelyn Waugh curdle in recollection as being too primly plausible.

The only question that remains to a prudent man is whether the book ought to be circulated among the young. For as Smith I observed: "The dangers and hair-breadth efcapes of a life of adventures, inftead of difheartening young people, feem frequently to recommend a trade to then. A tender mother among the inferior ranks of people, is often afraid to fend her fon to fchool at a feaport town, left the fight of the ships and the converfation and adventures of the failors fhould entice him to go to fea . . ."

On the other hand, the under-thirties in the financial community are most of them so bright and energetic, I tremble to think what mischief they might do without the Game to occupy them. A book like *The Money Game* will, I think, help to keep them on the Street.

Stephen Crane

R. W. STALLMAN

George Braziller, $12.50

JAMES R. MELLOW

"It does not appear to us that the modern era owes anything at all to Mr. Crane and his likes. . . ." That, in 1892, was the judgment of *The New York Tribune* on Stephen Crane, journalist. A budding young writer, Crane served as a stringer for the newspaper, covering the social events of the New Jersey coast. At the time, the area was the resort haven of American Methodism. Crane's father was a hard-working Methodist minister, his mother an energetic Temperance worker. Although he respected them both, he took a precociously cynical view of evangelical summers. His coverage of events at Ocean Grove and Asbury Park tended to stress the silliness and hypocrisy of the season. "Mildewed" was the word he youthfully applied to American religion.

His troubles with the newspaper, however, resulted from a sardonic piece on an American Day parade involving the Junior Order of United American Mechanics. Whitelaw Reid, owner and publisher of the *Tribune*, happened to be running for the Vice-Presidency on the Republican ticket with Benjamin Harrison. The labor union was much aggrieved by Crane's jibes at the parading unionists and Reid's opponents made political hay of the incident. By mid-September, Crane was phased out of his six-dollars-per-column reporter's job. "You'd hardly think," he commented, "a little innocent chap like me could have stirred up such a row in American politics. It shows what innocence can do if it has the opportunity."

R. W. Stallman's lengthy, detailed study of Crane is another of those superb biographies that are being borne in on a high-tide of non-fiction. A full account of Crane's life and work, it caps the several years of labor Professor Stallman has dedicated to putting Crane's literary production in order. The biography should send readers back to Crane with a much better appreciation of his stature in American literature.

As Stallman makes clear, the modern era, in fact, owes a good deal to Crane. The terse, journalistic style of Crane's novels (*Maggie: A Girl of the Streets, The Red Badge of Courage,*) is the forerunner of the modern taste for lean, muscular prose. Even his random verse (*The Black Riders, War is Kind*) has a modern ring in its brevity and bitter irony. It subscribes to Henry James's dictum of "stony-hearted triumphs of objective form." Crane's influence upon later writers ranges from the Imagist poets to Hemingway.

Crane was a realist, but he had a way of investing each image out of life with a symbolic importance. He had an eye for the inadvertencies of the real, the chance effects that fix a moment of some larger action—the glimpse of mild blue skies above the deadly battle, the torn bits of twigs and leaves that came fluttering down after a barrage of bullets. Oddly, he had written his major novel, *The Red Badge*, in his early twenties, before he had had any battle experience. But just as oddly, the situations depicted were to be verified by his later experiences as a war correspondent in the Greco-Turkish and Spanish-American Wars. Stallman quotes liberally from Crane's war dispatches (which he has edited); the selections should come as a discovery for those familiar only with the novels and stories. One incident, the collapse of an observation balloon trapped above the Spanish lines, reveals the strengths and weaknesses of Crane's style:

"The balloon was dying, dying a gigantic and public death before the eyes of the two armies. It quivered, sank, faded into the trees amid the flurry of a battle that was suddenly and tremendously like a storm. The American battery thundered behind the men with a shock that seemed likely to tear the backs of their heads off. The Spanish shrapnel fled on a line to their left, swirling and swishing in supernatural velocity. The noise of the rifle bullets broke in their faces like the noise of so many lamp-chimneys or sped overhead in swift cruel spitting. And at the front the battle-sound, as if it were simply music, was beginning to swell and swell until the volleys rolled like a surf."

Crane had artistic ambitions. He tended to be diffident about them, just as he deprecated his famous war novel. The diffidence was part of the manly, tight-lipped, drinking and whoring style of his life. It was never a bravado pose, simply the manner in which he conducted himself. The florid patches in his writing—the similes flying like proud battle flags—may have colored his prose with an indulgence later practitioners of the style would never have adopted, yet it is a likable characteristic. It is part of the generosity of the man.

He lived only a brief 28 years, yet he managed to cram into them the experiences of a lifetime. Already famous early in his career, he put his reputation on the line by publicly defending a prostitute who had been falsely arrested by a bullying policeman. The trial, and his association with the girl, made headlines. In January, 1897, he was shipwrecked off the coast of Florida, when the *Commodore*—a steamer running guns to Cuba—sank. The ordeal of sur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vival in high seas, in a dinghy with three other men, became the subject for one of his most famous stories, *The Open Boat.*

The last three years of his life would have been killing for a well man; Crane was suffering from tuberculosis. In March, 1897, he took off for Greece to cover the Greco-Turkish War, accompanied by Cora Stewart. Crane had met her in Jacksonville, shortly before the *Commodore* disaster. A vivacious and plucky woman with literary ambitions of her own, she had been the proprietress of a house of joy, the Hotel de Dream. Traveling as man and wife, they filed their stories on the short-lived Greek campaign, Crane assisting Cora in her literary efforts. From there they went to England, setting up housekeeping in a succession of large, damp manor houses. The expense of maintaining these establishments was to take a further toll of Crane's health. Trying to keep his head above water to support Cora's extravagance, his own high style of living, the hordes of friends and hangers-on who descended upon them by invitation or without warning, Crane ground out stories and articles. In April, 1898, he left England—without Cora—to cover the Cuban War for Pulitzer's *New York World.* The jungle climate, the hazards of the war were additional blows to his health. Crane—whose coolness under fire was praised by other reporters—seems to have balked at the prospects of returning to Cora. He "disappeared" for several weeks during the final stages of the campaign, giving rise to rumors that he was missing. Cora, frantic and staving off the creditors, pleaded with the American Secretary of War and the British Consul in Havana to locate him.

When Crane did return to England—reluctantly—he was physically and financially exhausted. The debts piled up, the writing went on, the guests continued to arrive. His bouts of illness became more ominous. Finally invalided, he was shipped to a sanitarium on the continent, traveling there under Cora's supervision. While waiting at Dover to make the Channel crossing, he chided a friend: "You damned humbug, you know I'll take no more rambles in this world."

His last days were pathetic. In delirium, his mind reverted to the perils of his *Commodore* experience. "My husband's brain is never at rest," Cora wrote to their benefactor, Moreton Frewen, "he lives over everything and talks aloud constantly. It is too awful to hear him try to change places in the 'Open Boat.'" Crane died in Germany in June, 1900.

Cora's maverick life went into decline. Cut off from any share in Crane's royalties by the family (she had no legal claim even though Crane had made a will) she returned to her old profession in Florida. A few years later, she became involved in a murder when her new, jealous young husband shot a man he suspected of being her suitor. In 1910, Cora died of a stroke after helping to push an automobile that had become stuck in the sand.

He had been a gentleman; she had been—for better and worse—a lady.

太天*
平下

About 1,000,000,000 people in the world understand this message.
350 of them are at Seton Hall University.

Only a fraction of the world's population speaks English, that language which borrows from so many others. The world moves, business is conducted, ideas are discussed . . . in Mandarin, Russian, Japanese, Greek, Spanish, French, German, Italian and Latin. In a world seeming to diminish each day, language barriers must become smaller. That is why all the languages listed above are taught at Seton Hall University, including the Chinese dialects which can be learned at only 25 other universities in America.

The Department of Asian Studies of the College of Arts and Sciences has attained a national reputation as a pioneer in the training of elementary and secondary school teachers in the critical Oriental tongues. This is only one example of the way Seton Hall University is attempting to meet the challenge of our times.

*A translation: *Pacem in Terris.* Pope John XXIII cared deeply about peace on this Earth, as do the men and women of Seton Hall.

Founded 1856
SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
South Orange, New Jersey 07079

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Slouching Toward Bethlehem

JOAN DIDION

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $4.95

MIM

Joan Didion's *Slouching Toward Bethlehem* unveils episodes of The American Dream come untrue. These twenty essays, on people, places and personal experiences, appeared in *The New York Times Magazine, Holiday, The American Scholar, Vogue* and *The Saturday Evening Post,* and their collection into this volume has widened Miss Didion's literary and intellectual audience.

She modestly calls herself a reporter, but is equally informative and imaginative, and equally relevant and reflective. Whether perceiving politicians' "factitious [sic] moral burdens" or a pacifist teacher's "fatally askew rainbow," whether profiling Howard Hughes as "the last private man" or Hawaii, where "the dislocations of war become the promises of progress," whether remembering Sacramento childhood notebooks as a place to "dwell upon self" or New York at twenty as "the mysterious nexus of all love and money and power," Miss Didion effectively synonymizes the word *article* with the word *essay*.

The nostalgic tone of her nervousness places her outside the *avant-garde,* and the everyday tone of her timeliness places her outside the Establishment. Her originality is irresistibly difficult to pinpoint. She's a little like a feminine Oscar Lewis, exploring the sociology of spiritual starvation, instead of the anthropology of poverty. And she's like a non-feminist Mary McCarthy, with a special talent for emotional, rather than intellectual, precision. And she's like a half-Western, half-Eastern Carson McCullers.

I'm struck most by the *lack* of clash between the sensationalism of her subject matter and the subtlety of her style. And I can't help fancying her as the missing link between those who believe everything they read in the tabloids and those who believe everything they read in the little magazines.

Miss Didion's title essay portrays San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury during the summer of 1967, the summer the hippie movement was supposed to have died. She describes Haight-Ashbury hippies as "sloughing off both the past and the future as snakes shed their skins." Almost everybody she meets "has to go to court at some point in the middle future." Through weary, but warm, 32-year-old eyes, she sees "the desperate attempt of a handful of pathetically unequipped children to create a community in a social vacuum." She concludes that hippies are "less in rebellion against society than ignorant of it." She closes with a vignette of a white-lipsticked, five-year-old little girl whose mother feeds her both LSD and peyote, and a second vignette of a burned, three-year-old little boy whose mother lets him play with lit joss sticks.

Miss Didion artfully captures the *unsentimental* side of the hippie scene; the *sentimental* side of a suburban superhousewife-cum-murderess; the *harshness* of old Newport houses; the *placidity* of abandoned Alcatraz prison; Las Vegas' mass-production *wedding* industry; *history* as the opiate of Comrade Michael Laski, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) [sic]. Miss Didion almost always focuses on the other side of the story, neither out of perversity nor in pursuit of an exposé, but simply because that's where her integrity ultimately leads her.

It's become *de rigueur* for writers to lament their loss of innocence as a prelude to protesting in all directions, but Miss Didion neither moans nor hollers. She provides more food for feeling than food for thought; she seems compelled to touch all the sharpest edges of today's fragmentary nightmares, and then go on to retrace their roots torn from yesterday's dreams. Perhaps she's more moving than stimulating because, instead of telling it like it is, she tells it like she wishes it weren't. What she conveys instead of rage is *Weltschmerz* or, more specifically, America*schmerz*.

Her compassion is persuasive, and I find her admiration absolutely infec-

For Lay People, the Clergy, and Religious

WORSHIP

A review exploring the current renewal of the Liturgy

Where

The Meaning and Structure of Christian Worship

and

Recent Documents of Liturgical Reform

Are Discussed by Leading Experts in the Field

$5.00 one year · 10 issues annually · $9.00 two years

THE LITURGICAL PRESS

St. John's Abbey Collegeville, Minnesota 56321

REVIEWERS

MARTIN TUCKER, a professor in the English Department at Long Island University, is the author of *Africa in Modern Literature* (Ungar).

ED ENGBERG, the author of *The Spy in the Corporate Structure* (World), is a member of the staff at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara.

JAMES R. MELLOW is art critic for *The New Leader.*

MIM is a free-lance writer and critic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tious. In her lighter pieces, *Where the Kissing Never Stops* (about Joan Baez at her Institute for the Study of Non-Violence in California), and in *John Wayne: A Love Song* (about the star on location-vacation in Mexico), Miss Didion writes painstakingly as a first-rate fan. And makes it embarrassingly impossible for me to continue regarding Miss Baez as a gifted dimwit, or Mr. Wayne as a large boor.

Most of these essays, however, are written not only painstakingly, but painfully. We're not called to action; we're asked only to open our eyes, but to do so at the calculated risk of tears. Miss Didion's wise, fragile courage fears both fear and fearlessness; and suggests that true perspective begins through swallowed tears. In her preface, she warns, "writers are always selling somebody out." But Joan Didion knows how to "sell somebody out" like a lady.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 301)

like Downs and Tullock. And if Wood had bothered to do a little research he would have found that no contemporary political behavioralists adhere to a Newtonian, mechanistic view of the world (not even Newton did).

As a final note it should be said that the antagonism that still exists between the traditional political theorist and the behavioralist is mostly the result of irresponsible, unsupported, and emotional attacks such as Wood's. Admittedly, the earlier antagonism was the work of the behavioralist trying to make a place for himself in a discipline hostile to science. But now that we all are a little more mature we can admit that political science has room for many different modes of analysis. There no longer is any need for the political philosopher, the traditional political theorist, or the empirical theorist to impose their respective orthodoxies on others.

DENNIS PALUMBO
Department of Political Science
Brooklyn College
Los Gatos, Calif.

To the Editors: Professor Neal Wood's article on "Political Behavioralism" [Oct. 4] correctly points to some serious deficiencies in many of the endeavors in political science today. A more complete picture, however, should include an account of recent developments which indicate a renewed concern for value-oriented political studies. Examples of these developments are:

1. At the 1968 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, a group called the Caucus for a New Political Science successfully presented several of the best panels of the meeting on subjects directly relevant to values in contemporary political controversies (Vietnam, the draft, race, presidential leadership, liberalism). The Caucus was formed last year precisely to inject such considerations into the heretofore one-sidedly behavioralistic meetings.

2. Much of the current clamor on college campuses is a rejection by the students of value-free approaches to important issues. Students are demanding more of their professors than abstract descriptions and intricate methodologies; they see that this too often leads to uncritical defense of the establishment.

3. The urban crisis has focused concern upon the "quality of life" led in the cities, and consequently turned attention to traditional theoretical considerations of what social conditions *should* be. After all, the man who spoke of the end of the city as being "the good life" was Aristotle, the first urbanologist.

Political theorists such as Professor Wood, deeply concerned over values and ends, must recognize these developments and utilize them if they wish to have an effective impact on the study of political science today.

PETER J. HENRIOT
Alma College
Toronto

Reply

I recognize and welcome the devel-

CATHOLIC BOOK WEEK, 1969

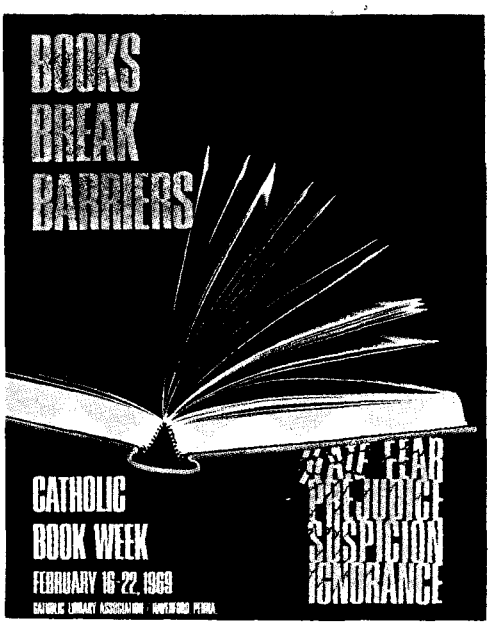
FEBRUARY 16-22

ORDER NOW!

BOOK WEEK KITS ($2.50 ea.)

Contain:

3 Posters
20 Bookmarks
1969 CLA Booklist



CATHOLIC LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
(DEPT W) 461 W. LANCASTER AVE.
HAVERFORD, PA. 19041

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Christmas gift you don't have to wrap. But your friends can open it . . . and open it . . . and open it.

In a time of crisis in Church and nation, *Commonweal*'s combination of engagement and reflection, of the secular and the religious, of scholarship and lively writing, will be the most welcome of gifts.

Commonweal speaks clearly, independently and, whenever necessary, controversially. Deeply committed to religious concerns—witness the numerous articles by theologians and laymen (and two Bishops) commenting on the papacy and the birth control question—*Commonweal* treats political and cultural developments on their own terms and with the best contributors possible, whether Catholic or not. None of this is new. It has been a *Commonweal* tradition 44 years.

Friends and relatives who receive gift subscriptions will not only be opening but reopening and rereading their weekly *Commonweal*.

Why not do your Christmas shopping in the next five minutes?

CHRISTMAS ORDER FORM

Please send these friends gift subscriptions at the special Christmas Rates: 1 Subscription, $10; each additional, $8 (Add $2 for postage outside U.S. and Canada)

Name

Street

City, State, Zip

New ☐ Renewal ☐

Name

Street

City, State, Zip

New ☐ Renewal ☐

MY NAME IS

Street

City, State, Zip

(212 MU3-2042)

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., N. Y., N. Y. 10016

opments which Professor Henriot mentions. A meaningful answer to Professor Palumbo is far more difficult because both my article and this letter have been severely restricted in their length by the format of *Commonweal*.

I did not, as Professor Palumbo charges, argue that *all* behavioralists, but only that *many*, are quantifiers. Nevertheless, he seems to have a rather simplistic notion of quantification. I was not referring simply to the use of statistical data, but to the very assumption underlying behavioral and systems theories that social forces, like physical forces, are ultimately, in principle at least, measurable. Without such an assumption, as for example Easton himself indicates, systems theories with conceptions of inputs and outputs, or equilibrium theories, etc., tend to be meaningless. My own argument is not that the goal of quantification is unattainable, but that even the heuristic adoption of such a goal represents a gross qualitative distortion of the world. Social and political phenomena cannot, even heuristically, be approached as so many physical phenomena by methods largely derived from the physical sciences.

My reference to Bentham's felicific calculus was meant to suggest how an analysis of social and political phenomena based largely on the conception of behavior and the idea of a social science of means leads to a simplistic reductionism, roughly comparable to the approach and the results of much of political behavioralism. As for Newton, if Professor Palumbo were familiar with the tradition of social theory, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries created under the conscious influence of Newtonian physics, he might be struck by the similarities between its simplistic mechanistic picture of social relations and that presented by much of contemporary model-building. Nowhere did I refer to the verifiability criterion of truth; my point was that the behavioralist conception of the nature of science itself is limited, parochial, and perhaps even distorted. In respect to the fact-value dichotomy, Professor Palumbo again completely misunder-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stands me. No doubt political behavioralists do recognize the role of personal preference and bias in their analyses. My argument, however, was that the very structure of the behavioralist's consciousness, the very nature of his perception, may be profoundly affected by his historical and cultural tradition, and that he cannot be aware of the ways in which his experience of the world is so determined without a serious and careful study of that tradition.

What Professor Palumbo completely omitted in his sweeping charges of distortion are my two central contentions: first, that contemporary political science, all but captured by political behavioralism, has abdicated its traditional role of practical orientation at a time when we need guidance more than ever before; second, that political behavioralism, because of its rejection of a very rich intellectual heritage and because of its narrow view of "social science" and its emphasis on expertise and technique, threatens to dehumanize education. The pathology of political science, I am afraid, is an integral part of the pathology of our troubled age.

NEAL WOOD
Department of Political Science
York University

Experience Vs. Faith

Wernersville, Pa.

To the Editors: I am *not* writing to mediate the Bishop Helmsing—NCR dispute. After reading your editorial on the affair [Nov. 1] I find myself pretty much in agreement with the general thrust of your editorial. I, too, would not want the NCR to be boycotted to its death.

However, I would like to comment on an important sentence in your editorial: "In a sense, each [Bishop Helmsing and *NCR*] epitomizes the principal paradigms operative in the Church—the conventional ecclesiasticism of coherent development within an accepted framework, with the bishops as final arbiters, and the new theological dynamics by which it is legitimate for Catholics to probe and question the most fundamental dogmas of belief, with reason and experience the arbiters." The truth of this matter, it seems to me, will involve some of both of these paradigms. In your next sentence you say that history will narrow the distance between these two paradigms. I feel we must right now keep before us this realization of part truth in each paradigm even before history actually narrows the distance. We are so quick today to express the Christian mystery in the grammatical construction *either-or*, rather than in the construction *both-and*. It is the latter that preserves the fullness of the Christian mystery on so many topics today, not the former.

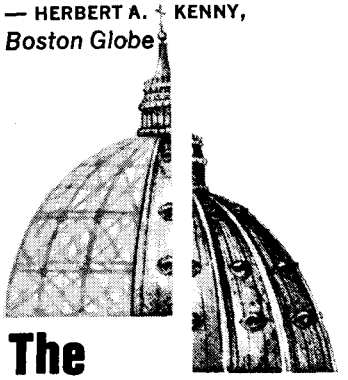
But, my major concern is with the arbiters you allow on the bench of judgment in the second paradigm. I suggest that "reason and experience" must move over and make room for *faith*. Unless I am terribly misinterpreting your understanding of *experience*, I doubt that experience and reason amount to (or equal) faith. I am referring to the faith needed to live the Father's Wisdom which is not always man's wisdom and which St. Paul tells us (I Cor i, 19ff.) is "a stumbling block to the Jews and sheer nonsense to the gentiles"—and often seems such for us too. But Christ lives as a call to this kind of belief. "Experience and reason" by themselves cannot always bring us to this realm of belief. If faith is not seated too as arbiter, our probing and questioning cannot come to the Truth which continues to grow and is ever new and alone brings to our hearts the peace and joy they crave—but does not always make sense according to our standards.

(REV.) GEORGE A. ASCHENBRENNER, S. J.

"RICHARD NIXON *will represent an overwhelming American conservative consensus: not merely his own voters, but most of those who voted for Wallace, and a great many even (remember Chicago: it was not McCarthy who was nominated) of those who voted for Humphrey. No President will ever have had more solid support, if he recognizes the character of his mandate and finds the means to carry it out.*"

For a free copy of Wm. F. Buckley's NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. J, 150 E. 35 Street, N.Y. 10016.

"Never dull . . . The book is certain to offend some and irritate many while offering witness to the tremendous ferment of the spirit in United States religious thinking today."
— HERBERT A. KENNY, *Boston Globe*



The Catholic Left
The Crisis of Radicalism Within the Church
By JAMES COLAIANNI
Introduction by Donald J. Thorman
$5.95, now at your bookstore
CHILTON BOOK COMPANY
Philadelphia • New York • London

Classified

● RATES 40¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines $2.40 a line. Discounts: 3 times 5%; 7 times, 10%; 13 times, 15%. Payable with order.

Records

● FOLK-MASS RECORDS. Name it, we'll send it. (—10%, mention Commonweal.) Catalog. CATHOLIC SHOP, Norristown, Pa. 19401.

Mission

● MISSISSIPPI RURAL MISSION needs financial help. Inter-racial apostolate in two-county poverty area. Father Jim Taylor, ST. PETER'S MISSION, Bassfield, Miss. 39421.

Workshops

● GESTALT group-encounter weekend workshops led by Esalen-experienced psychologist-philosopher. *Write:* DAN SULLIVAN, Box 515, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Kairos®
WORKING TOOLS DESIGNED FOR PARISH RENEWAL

NEW "*Church In The World Bulletin.*" Produced by award winning film makers. The words of Jesus applied to today's human problems. Sample packet includes 12 bulletins, one large poster and information. Send $1.00.

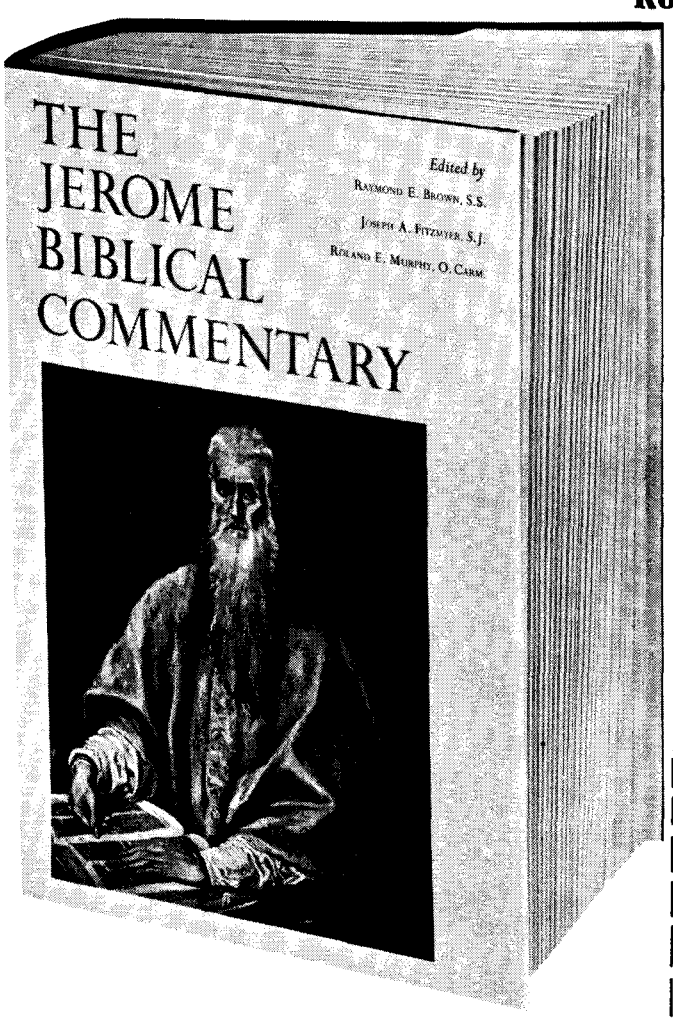
KAIROS DEPT CW BOX 24056 MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. 55424

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reflecting the new and vital interest in the Bible being experienced in the Catholic Church...

The Word of God– examined, exalted, illuminated, by modern scholars

THE JEROME BIBLICAL COMMENTARY
Edited by Raymond E. Brown, S.S.
Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.
Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm.



"For a long time Catholics have badly needed a commentary on the entire Bible that would make available for easy consultation the fruits of modern biblical studies—priests have needed it for their sermons; teachers of religion have needed it for background in their classes; the laity have needed it as a help in fostering personal reading of the Bible. American Catholic biblical scholars have at last given us all this in The Jerome Biblical Commentary. We are confident that this work will prove to be an attractive tool for reading the pages of Holy Writ with understanding and enthusiasm."

—Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston

For every inquiring Christian who wishes to study the Scriptures in the light of modern scholarship, here is *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. No other Catholic commentary on the whole Bible offers within the covers of one book such a wealth of contemporary interpretation.

This comprehensive, up-to-date, reference work takes you chapter-and-verse through every book of the Bible. Over eighty articles detail such pertinent topics as biblical theology, history, geography and archeology. Modern discoveries such as the Dead Sea Scrolls receive careful attention. And many useful maps and charts are provided. The result is a fresh, creative interpretation of the Bible for reading, study and reflection.

$25.00

Prentice-Hall
Englewood Cliffs,
New Jersey Dept. ST-6135

Gentlemen: Please send me _____ copies of THE JEROME BIBLICAL COMMENTARY @ $25.00 ea. I enclose _____ Check _____ Money order for $_____. (Please add tax where applicable.) I understand if I am not completely satisfied, I may return my purchase within 10 days for a full refund.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED